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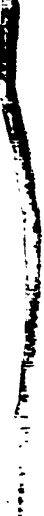

Anne E. Gunning

MEMOIR

OF THE

Life and Episcopate

OF

Dr. WILLIAM BEDELL,

LORD BISHOP OF KILMORE.

BY HIS SON-IN-LAW

THE REV. ALEXANDER CLOGY, M.A.,

MINISTER OF CAVAN.

Printed for the first time (with Illustrative Notes) from the original MS. in the Harleian Collection, British Museum.

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SPECULUM EPISCOPORUM;

OR

The Apostolique Bishop, being a brieffe Account of the Lyfe and Death of that Reverend Father in God, D. William Bedell, Lord Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, who departed this lyfe Febr. 7th, 164½.

לזכר עולם יהיה צדיק—Psa. cxii. 6.

זכר צדיק לברכה—Pro. x. 7.

טוב שם משמן טוב—Eccles. vii. 1.

ПУБЛИЧНА
НАУЧНА
БИБЛИОТЕКА

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

ARCHDEACON COTTON, in his *Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*, makes the following remarks in reference to the biography of Bishop Bedell: "It is evident (he says) after the labors of Burnet, the Biographia Britannica, Chalmers, Mason, &c., a satisfactory Life of Bedell, both personal and literary, is still a *desideratum*. Yet the materials for both those departments are abundant; namely, for the latter, in the various correspondence of learned men, which I have pointed out; and for the former, in two very curious accounts of his life, written not long after his death, by persons who had every means of access to the truth of the facts which they relate; one being Alexander Clogy, his

son-in-law, and the other believed to be the bishop's own son. Burnet saw one or both of these, but has not made all the use of them which he might have done. Both are in the Bodleian Library among the MSS. of Bishop Tanner (No. 278)."

Strange to say, neither of those "very curious accounts" of the Life of Bedell has been published. That which is supposed to have been written by the elder surviving son of the bishop, the Rev. William Bedell, is entitled *A True Relation of the Life and Death of the Right Rev. Father in God, William Bedell, Lord Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland*, and consists of one hundred and sixty paragraphs numbered. I have neither read nor seen it. It is supposed to have been penned about the year 1676, when the author was settled in Rattlesden, Suffolk, of which parish he was some time rector.

The second account referred to by Archdeacon Cotton, and which is now printed for the first

time from a manuscript in the Harleian Collection, British Museum, was written, no doubt, by the bishop's son-in-law, the Rev. Alexander Clogy, M.A., of Cavan; to the rectory of which parish he was appointed shortly after Bedell's promotion to the see of Kilmore, in the year 1629. Of the personal history of this gentleman little or nothing is known, beyond what he has discovered of himself in this brief but interesting memoir of his beloved diocesan and relative. After his marriage with the bishop's step-daughter, Leah Maw, in 1637, Mr. Clogy appears to have quitted Cavan altogether (although throughout the following pages he continues to describe himself as minister of that place), and to have taken up his abode permanently in the "castle," or palace of Kilmore; but not, as he takes special care to inform us, in the capacity of domestic chaplain. The bishop was particularly jealous of any ministerial interference on the part of another with his household, performing every spiritual function

himself. Mr. Clogy continued to reside with him till his (Bedell's) death in 1642, after which melancholy event, and whilst the Rebellion was still raging in Ireland, he sought a temporary refuge in Dublin. How long he remained in that city, or when he crossed over to England, we have no information. Burnet simply describes him, in his preface to the Life of the bishop, as "a venerable and learned divine," without stating anything whatever of his then position or circumstances in life, or of his antecedents. Most probably, he never returned to Ireland.

There are, I believe, three transcripts extant of Clogy's Memoir of the Bishop. I have not collated them: in fact, I am only acquainted with that in the Harleian Collection, and which I have undertaken to edit. That is comprised in one hundred and seventy-five closely written quarto pages, in a neat Elizabethan hand, and includes several letters and documents not to be found in Burnet's *Life of*

Bedell. It has been generally supposed, that the *original* MS. is in the Tanner Collection; but I am inclined to think that it is in the Harleian, and for this reason: When my attention was first directed to, and I had made a transcript of the last-mentioned, there was no title-page to it. This was subsequently discovered by a literary friend of mine accidentally bound up with a bundle of papers, differing both in size and matter. The keeper of the MSS. at once restored it to its proper place. From the absence of the very appropriate *Hebrew* texts on the title-pages of the other transcripts, I conclude, therefore, that that in the Harleian Collection must be the original. It is not likely that any transcriber would add to the labours of his original. The date, moreover, of this particular manuscript, has been added at the bottom of the page; but, unfortunately, it is now too much obliterated by time and use to be clearly deciphered. From a passing allusion to Dr. Francis Marsh (*vide*

p. 49) it would seem that it was written during the time of his episcopacy of Kilmore. Dr. Marsh was translated from the see of Limerick to Kilmore and Ardagh in the year 1643, and from thence to Dublin in 1672. The memoir, therefore, was penned between the two last-mentioned years: and, possibly, as some suppose, nearer to the first than the second-named year.

Burnet was indebted to Clogy for the principal materials for his well-known Life of the Bishop; but whether he ever saw this memoir, I think, is very questionable. In his preface he speaks of the "*memorials*" of the "venerable and learned divine," a description which can hardly apply to a set biography. My own impression is, that Clogy deposited with Burnet a portion only of his papers and memoranda, or that relating exclusively to Bedell's career in Ireland, which Burnet arranged and used according to his own judgment; and that Clogy afterwards, in order

"to satisfy (as he states in his proem) the importunity of some worthy persons" composed his *Speculum Episcoporum.* But be that as it may, his account of Bedell, and the hapless age in which his lot was cast, is in several respects preferable to Burnet's more pompous narrative. Our author was not only connected with Bedell by marriage; resided under the same roof, and officiated at times in the same church with him; but, during the most intensely interesting period of the good bishop's chequered career, he enjoyed his warmest friendship and uninterrupted confidence, as well as shared his unmerited prison and latest trials; so that there is a vividness in his descriptions, both personal and local, which it would be vain to look for in the work of another who had not been similarly circumstanced.

With the exception of correcting a few clerical errors, I have given the text of the Harleian manuscript *verbatim et literatim.* Those who are acquainted with the two transcripts of

it will perceive what (if any) difference there is between them. I have added a few foot-notes, which I flatter myself will not only prove interesting to the general reader, but also be of some service to the future biographer of the bishop. In the performance of this very humble labor, I have been solely actuated by that olden spirit of piety which finds a peculiar satisfaction in casting its tributary mite upon the mound raised to the memory of another—

> "Vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ
> Ossibus et capiti inhumato
> Particulam dare—"

a feeling immeasurably enhanced, in this intance, by the reflection, that it is in honor of one, whose virtues have been never surpassed, and rarely equalled, in this nether world of ours. He is, indeed, as Coleridge has designated him, "the most faultless character in all Ecclesiastical history."

W. WALKER WILKINS.

MEMOIR

OF THE

Life and Episcopate of Bishop Bedell.

I INTEND (by the grace of God) to re-collect my thoughts concerning that Reverend Father in God, Dr. WILLIAM BEDELL, Lord Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland; not so much to revive mine own memorial of him, having his incomparable worth, both living and dead, in mine heart still, as to satisfy the importunity of some worthy persons that have a great veneration for his name, and a perfect value for every thing that man of God was author of (whom I mention with honor and thankfulness); and have often desired of me a larger account than is yet given of him to this world by those that have mentioned somewhat of him long ago, but so far short of him, as if they had said nothing at all of him.

And although my acquaintance with him was late, in the rear of his life, and my interest in him very great, from '36 [1636] to the captivity of the land in '41, that so pretious a jewel may not lie hid, and smothered

in the rubbish of oblivion, whose sacred name is embalmed with pretious ointment of the best composition, I shall endeavour to declare and make known, what I have heard of him by those I had good reason to believe, what I heard from himself, and what myself observed in my abode with him all that space.

The great periods of his life were, his education; his ministry in England; his embassy as chaplain with Sir Henry Wotton in Venice; his Provostship over the college of Dublin; and Episcopacy at Kilmore in Ireland.

His birth and nativity was at a place called Black-Notley in the county of Essex, anno 1570, of a good and honest family, where (his eldest brother dying without issue) his son Mr. William Bedell did enjoy a considerable inheritance, transmitted unto him by many progenitors.* His academical education was in

* Morant, in his *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, (2 vols. fol. Lond. 1768,) gives the following description of the Manor of Bedell's Hall: "This is one of the four hamlets belonging to Writtle-parish. The Mansion-house is seated on the right side of the road leading from Pleshey to Chicknal-Smeley, not far from Dyveshall; and is about four miles north-east from Writtle-church. Near it formerly stood a cross at the meeting of the three ways, called Bedell's-Cross. * * * * William le Bedell is mentioned in the Inquisitions 35 Hen. III. Richard Bedell held this estate under John de Vere Earl of Oxford, who died in 1360—William Bedell held it in the 8th of Rich. II.—William Bedell in the reign of Hen. VI.—and another

Emmanuel College in Cambridge,* under Dr. Chadderton, the first head of that house, and one of the first scholars; where he profited above all his equals in philosophy, divinity, and practice of piety, he was esteemed *nulli secundus;* he was made the moderator, and decider of all controversies, whether about fundamental, or things circumstantial and ceremonial, as if he had been *magnum academiæ oraculum, mundi miraculum* (as it was said there of learned Whitaker before him) while he was student there, *primo in flori juventæ.*

Then he was called to be preacher of St. Mary's, in St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk,† where he continued

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William 7 Hen. VIII.—William his son and heir in the 25 Hen. VIII. * * * In the reign of Q. Eliz. William Bedle, Gent. held this estate." The property appears to have passed out of the family before the close of the seventeenth century. According to the same authority, the arms of Bedell were: Sable, 3 saltiers arg. On a fesse, arg. an escalop, between two mullets, arg. Crest. on a Torse arg. and sab. a Buck's head gul. attired, or; between the horns a bough of a tree, leaved proper.

* Bedell was entered as a pensioner of Emmanuel College 1st Nov. 1584; proceeded to B.A. in 1589; M.A. in 1592; elected a fellow in 1593; and took his B.D. degree in 1599.

† He was ordained priest by John Sterne, suffragan bishop of Colchester, on 10th Jan. 1596; and was licensed to preach in the diocese of Norwich on the 23rd Jan. 1601. Lewis of Margate states: "That whilst Bedell continued in the University, he, with Mr. Abdius Ashton of St. John's, Mr. Thomas Gataker of Sydney Sussex College, and

many years with great approbation and applause, and blessed fruits of his ministry. It was said of him there, that he did usually make the most obscure places of Scripture very plain, and of another preacher in that place, that he made the plainest Scriptures obscure and hard to be understood.

There he married Leah, a person comely, virtuous, and godly (whose maiden name was Le Strange), the widow and relict of Robert Maw, Esquire, sometime Recorder of St. Edmundsbury, by whom he had three sons, William, John, and Ambrose, and one daughter called Grace, who, with her brother John, died young. William and Ambrose were married, and had children before their father's death. She bare four children to her former husband, Nicholas, Leah, Robert, and Edward, who, with his sister Leah, came into Ireland.

I have heard that all persons and societies, in which he was concerned, did glory in him, as namely the Suffragan of Colchester, who when he was threatened to have his seat taken from him (he ordained so many) bragged thus: "I have ordained abler men than ever the bishop did, for I have ordained Mr. Bedell;" and when at a general convention of the clergy, some

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formerly of St. John's, and some others, set on foot a design of preaching in places adjacent to the University, where there were no pastors able to teach and lead the people in the waiys of truth, peace, and life." —(MS. note to Burnet's *Life of Bedell.*)

things were propounded by the bishop,* that many worthy men did dislike, but none durst speak, lest they should have been put out of the synagogue, at length he stands up in the midst of his brethren, and spake with such wisdom and moderation, that many things that were rigourously imposed, and required, did fall to the ground, for which confident and discreet attempt, when his brethren did extol him to his face, he said no more, but what our Saviour said before him: "I desire not the praise of men." This I received from one Mr. Samuel Southby, a holy man of God, who was his colleague in St. Edmundsbury, and being driven out of his parsonage at Comber, by Bishop Wren, came to Ireland, to the Bishop of Kilmore; who, after he had heartily entertained him many months, preferred him to a living in the county of Leitrim, without ceremony or simony; and God was pleased to call that good man into England a little before the rebellion of Ireland, so that he saw not the evil that came upon us.

He had such a large character of learning and prudence given him by the University of Cambridge, and by all that knew his inestimable worth, accompanied with humility, and gravity, that he was chosen by King James to go with the Ambassador, Sir Henry

* Dr. John Jegon, Bishop of Norwich, 1602-18.

Wotton, unto Venice, as chaplain in the time of the Venetian interdict, in 1604,* when that Republic was excommunicate by the Pope, Paulus Quintus, for attacking and imprisoning two adulterous friars.†

And about the same time one Mr. Wadsworth, bred in the same college, chosen scholar at the same election, lodged in the same chamber, after a minister in the same diocese with Dr. Bedell, and that they might be alike in this also, both chaplains in foreign parts, was sent into Spain to teach the Infanta the English tongue, in order to her marriage with Prince Charles; but he was so much *mutatus ab illo*, that he was cheated out of his religion by the Jesuits, and turned

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* Bedell did not accompany Wotton to Venice. He joined him there. "The chaplain (says Birch), who first served Sir Hy. Wotton in that capacity, was Mr. Nathaniel Fletcher, son of [Dr. Richard] Fletcher, Bishop of London." 1594-96. Sir Henry, moreover, in a letter addressed to the Earl of Salisbury, and dated from Venice, 23 Feb. 1606-7, writes: "I have occasion at the present of the begging your Lordship's passport and encouragement for one Mr. Bedell, whom I shall be very glad to have with me in the place of Chaplain, because I hear very singular commendation of his good gifts and discreet behaviour. It may, therefore, please your Lordship, when he shall take the boldness to present himself before you, to set forward also this piece of God's service." Bedell, therefore, could not have reached Venice earlier than the summer of 1607.

† Sarraceno, a canon of Vicenza, and Valdemarino, abbot of Nervesa, convicted criminals of the blackest dye, whom the Pope reclaimed from the hands of justice.

apostate, and there lived and died, and returned no more to his native country; whereas Dr. Bedell was like to have been the great instrument, in the hand of God, for the bringing of the Venetian State out of Romish—Popish—Babylon, by opening their eyes, and turning them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, as the ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, did acknowledge, when he had any occasion administered unto him, to speak of that his embassy, one passage of his letter to the king [James I.] is this:—"For may it please your Majesty to know, "that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took (I may "say) into his very soul, with whom he did commu- "nicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from "whom he professed to have received more knowledge "in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than "from any that he had ever conversed with in his "days, of which all the passages were well known to "the king your father of blessed memory." The letter itself I will set down in its place. How well he deserved this commendation did daily appear more and more in that transaction with the Pope, some particulars whereof I learned by many.

In the first years he learned, by the help of P. Paulo, the Italian tongue, and was suddenly as much master of it, as if he had been an Italian born (as P. Paulo said to the lord ambassador); insomuch that

most of his sermons in Venice were written in the Italian tongue, or in Latin, wherein none did excel him, since Erasmus brought in the purity of it. To requite P. Paulo's assistance of him in acquiring the Italian tongue, at his request, he wrote an English Grammar for him, and many others that desired to learn it, for religion's sake; and he translated the Common Prayer-book into Italian, which P. Paulo and the Seven Divines* that preached against the Pope (by authority), liked so well, that they were resolved to have made it a pattern of their public worship, if they had made a full retreat from the Church of Rome, as they were very like to do.

He helped and instructed the Seven Venetian Divines in the understanding of the Scriptures, whereof Fulgentius was chief; whose sermons against the Pope I have seen, and are yet extant, printed in Italian, though upon the Pacification, they and all such writings, were called in, and anathematized.

He had such respect from the Venetian State, that when P. Paulo was stabbed with a stiletto† (a loving

* There were not Seven Divines independently of Padre Paulo; but he was of that number, and the most eminent of them.

† He was attacked one night, as he was returning home to his monastry, by a band of ruffians, who inflicted upon him no fewer than

token sent from his holy father, the Pope, by an obedient son of his Church), when he was writing the history of the Council of Trent, and the messenger disappointed in finishing his enterprise, the State set a guard to secure him from after-blows of that kind, from these assassinators, that are skilful to destroy. Dr. Bedell had always free ingress to him, and egress from him, without any suspicion or molestation. The stiletto is yet to be seen over his effigies in Venice. I heard him say, that there was not one word in all the Greek Testament, but P. Paulo had marked with his red-lead, thus to show, that he had studied every word. I heard him also say, that when he had shewed the true reading and sense of that often mistaken phrase by the Anabaptists, Act. xix. 5. Ἀκούσαντες &c.* ("which they hearing") that they were a part of the continued speech of Paul concerning John, and not at all the words of St. Luke, the historian *(verba*

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twenty-three wounds. The assassins escaped in a ten-oared boat to the palace of the papal nuncio, who had hired them for that diabolical purpose. Father Paul preserved one of the stilettos, which the assassins had left in his body, and surmounted it with the inscription: *Stilo della chiesa Romana* (The pen of the Romish Church). After his death, in 1623, it was suspended over his monument in the Church Dei Servi, Venice.

* Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ,

illa non sunt Lucce de Paulo, sed Pauli de Johanne et discipulis ejus), that P. Paulo leapt for joy for the discovery of that truth, which he never knew before.

At that time came Spalatensis, the Archbishop of Spalado, to Venice, Marcus Antonius de Dominis, having fled for his life from Babylon, and having received Dr. Bedell, as P. Paulo did, into his very soul, he communicated unto him his writings *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, in ten books, which afterwards he published in London and dedicated to King James.* He corrected many things in his writings, in his interpreting and applying of Scriptures, in his quotations of Fathers and histories, at the motion of Dr. Bedell, without whom, he said, he could do nothing.

About that time also there came a Jesuit to Venice,

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* The first volume of this famous work was published in London, 1617; the second, in 1620, at the same place; the last volume, which was never perfected by its unfortunate author, was printed at Franckfort in the year 1658. Dean Hickes, the non-juror, who entertained no very high opinion of Bishop Bedell, and had a perfect abhorrence of his biographer, Burnet, most unjustly insinuates (in his *Discourses* occasioned by the funeral sermon of Burnet upon Tillotson, 4to. Lond. 1695) that De Dominis never made a confidant of Bedell; and that the latter therefore could never have revised the great work of the former. Further, the deprived and irate Dean seems to have thought that the *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ* was wholly executed, as well as printed, in this country.

called Thomas Maria Caraffa (Anno. 1608), and printed a thousand Theses of Philosophy and Divinity, and dedicated them with a blasphemous title, thus: PAVLO V. VICE-DEO, *Christianæ Reipublicæ monarchæ invictissimo, et Pontificiæ omnipotentiæ conservatori accerrimo* [To Paul V. the Vice-God, the most invincible Monarch of the Christian Republic, and most zealous assertor of Pontificial Omnipotency]; which, when Dr. Bedell had seen, with amazement, he retired into his study, and by just calculation, found out, that it contained exactly, in the numeral letters of that proud-swelling title, the number of the Beast, 666 mentioned *Apoc.* xiii. 18; so that he that runs may read it in PAVLO V. VICE DEO. (5 50 5 5 1 100 100) He shewed it to the Lord Ambassador, to P. Paulo, and to the Seven Divines, who immediately laid hold upon it, as if it had been by divine revelation from heaven, and acquainted the Princes and the Senate with it. It was conveyed suddenly through the city, that this was Anti-Christ, and that they needed not look for another; it was published and preached through all their territories, and the Romanists were ashamed and confounded at it, with horror and consternation, that they had nothing to say against the calculation, and knew not what to do, till they send forthwith (lest this discovery should spread farther) to their ghostly father concerning it, who never wants a fit salve for

such a sore; but caused à proclamation to be made, and to be sent unto all his vassals and tenants, the Popish Princes of Christendom, to let them know, that Anti-Christ was born in Babylon, of the tribe of Dan, and was coming with a huge army to waste and destroy all opposers; and therefore they should arm themselves speedily, and make ready all their forces by sea and land to encounter him, &c. And thus was that acute and mysterious discovery husht.

This is since mentioned by commentators upon that arithmetical mystery; but this was the original of it, as the lord ambassador told King James and others. The same is set down more fully in his book against the apostate Wadsworth, but his modesty conceals the first finder and discoverer of it.

I never heard him say that he was displeased with the lord ambassador, but in this one thing: when the difference between the Venetians and the Pope was grown to the highest, and there seemed not to be one step between their rejection of him and his Popery for ever, and none ever forsook him, that were more likely to do it, upon most rational and Christian-like terms; when the Prince, in his speech in the Senate-house, had spoken much in the praise and commendation of King James, said "that things were not so bad, as men bare the world in hand, intending to set discord between Christian Princes"; and something also in

commendation of the English ambassador there present, and when the Pope's Nuncio had said, that King James was not a Catholic, and not to be relied upon, &c., the Prince immediately replied, that Rex de Angleterra, &c., did believe in Jesus Christ, but what others did believe he knew not. P. Paulo and the Seven Divines, with many others, sent for Dr. Bedell, and entreated him to desire the lord ambassador to deliver the King's book* immediately to the Prince; which he did urge him, and persuade him to do, by all possible motives from reason and religion, keeping himself still within the bounds of modesty and moderation towards him, whose servant, most observant of his lord and master, he was, and referring himself still to his wisdom and better judgment. When he had said all that he could, the lord ambassador's answer was no more but this: "That he was resolved not to deliver "the King's book, but on St. James his day that was "approaching," (and ere that day came the State was reconciled to the Pope). And then when on that fatal day the book was delivered, the answer was this:

* The book here referred to was *A Premonition to all most mightie Monarches, Kings, free Princes and States of Christendome*, a translation of which into the Latin was specially made for the use of the Venetian State; and a copy of it presented to every Court in Christendom.

"That they thanked the King for his good will, *but* "were now reconciled to the Pope, and therefore were "resolved not to admit of any change in their religion, "according to their articles of agreement with his "Holiness, &c."

Which sad answer had almost broken the heart of Dr. Bedell, Padre Paulo, and of all the Seven Divines, and of many others that were to entertain the Gospel of Reformation, as ready as the Israelites to march away from Pharaoh. Thus he it was, so eminently instrumental in God's hands, and labored more abundantly (according to his station and subordination) than any in that mysterious transaction, was made sad, and found that saying of that wisest of all mere men to be true: "That great men are not always wise."*

I never heard that he displeased the lord ambassador in anything, save this one thing: The ambassador

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* Hickes, in his animadversions upon Burnet, before referred to (p. 10), exposes, with his characteristic acrimony, the error into which the bishop was probably led by Clogy, respecting the conduct of Sir Henry Wotton in the matter of the presentation of King James' book to the Venetian Senate. The story as related by Clogy, is, as Hickes expresses it, "as false as formal." The Pope, in fact, removed the Interdict from Venice in 1607, and the *Premonition* was not presented to the Senate till fully two years later. (*Conf.* Maurocenus, lib. xviii. p. 420 and Winwood's *Memorials*, iii. 77.)

had an ape, that upon a time slipt his chain, and got out, and bit a child very sore; the Venetian mother brought the child into the ambassador's lodging with great fury and rage, insomuch that she alarmed his whole family. Dr. Bedell his chaplain said: "His "lordship was bound in conscience to make satisfaction, "and that it was a slander to our religion to keep such "harmful beasts, and not repay the damage;" who answered angrily, "That he wished he were as sure of "the kingdom of heaven; and that he had as good a "conscience as another."

He spent much time not only with P. Paulo, Diodata, Spalatensis and others (unto whom he expounded the way of God more perfectly than ever they knew before), but also with Rabbi Leo, the master of the Jewish Synagogue at Venice, who taught him the oriental pronunciation of the Hebrew tongue; of whom R. Leo said, that he had received more light in the truth and sense of the Hebrew text from Dr. Bedell, than from all their rabbins. And when, in a solemn dispute with him, about the Messiah, Dr. Bedell had clearly proved that Christ was *materiis Scripturarum velatus in Veteri, revelatus in Novo Testamento*, and that to Him give all the prophets witness, as he shewed by induction, beginning at Moses and reading all the Scripture testimonies out of the Hebrew text clearly, and answering all objections, he

and the other rabbins had no more to say, but *aliter credunt, et. ubique terrum docent Rabbini nostri, ex traditione patrum.* I heard him often mention this R. Leo, in reading the original, and say, "My master, R. Leo, said *thus.*"

This Rabbi Leo helped him to the fairest manuscript that I ever did see, of the Old Testament. It was written in a large folio of excellent parchment in such large, clear and excellent characters, with all the points, and some Rabbinical notes on the large margin, and of so great antiquity, that no print could be compared unto it. This large volume cost so many *livres* an ounce, and is now in the Library of Emmanuel College, in Cambridge, well worth the seeing.

When after all this stir the Venetians had returned to their vomit again (though they made a decree, that the Jesuits, whom they had driven out, should never be re-admitted, unless three parts of four of the Senate should be consenting to it), yet they never desired the Pope's absolution from their excommunication to this day, only the Cardinal Nuncio,* upon the day of reconciliation, got into the Senate-house before the Prince† came, and made an aerial cross with his

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* Cardinal Gessi, Bishop of Rimini.

† Leonardo Donato, "a wise and resolute man," as he is characterised by Sir Henry Wotton.

finger, over or upon the Prince's cushion, and that was sufficient to save his master's credit, and to serve instead of a solemn ceremonial absolution, as their Popish manner is. The State observed none, but did forbid all manner of shows of joy and gratulation, upon the pacification. They are worthy of all slavery, that will return to that estate, when they choose.

When Dr. Bedell returned into England with the ambassador,* P. Paulo was so loath to part with him, as with his own soul, and would have come into England, with many others that were loath to return to their Egyptian darkness and bondage; but the State would not part with him upon any terms, he being esteemed the right eye and lively oracle of that State till his death. He gave Dr. Bedell his picture, an Hebrew Bible without pricks, and a small pocket Hebrew Psalter, wherein he wrote some expressions of love, subscribed with his heart and hand. He gave him the Italian copy of *The Council of Trent, The*

* 1610. In a letter dated March 6th in this year from the Rev. John Sandford to Sir Thomas Edmonds *(Court of James I*, i. 108.), the writer remarks: "Sir H. Wotton lately arrived in Court." And Geo. Calvert, addressing the same party (10 March 1610), also intimates that "Sir H. Wotton arrived here [*i.e.* London,] some 3 or 4 days before me, and is yesterday gone to the King at Royston." (*ib.* iii.) Bedell's stay, therefore, in Venice did not extend over four years. Birch says, he was there *three* years only.

History of the Interdict, and of *The Inquisition*, with many other love-tokens and pieces of antiquity.

Spalatensis came over with him,* and one Dr. Dispotine, one of his Italian converts, whom he brought with him to St. Edmundsbury, and was a famous physician, and became very rich in that place; between whom and him there was a continual intercourse of Italian letters to their last, whereof I have seen many.

At his return to his flock in St. Edmundsbury, after so long absence beyond sea, being almost eight years in Italy, he was received with wonderful expressions of joy by all sorts of people, as an angel of God. There he finished his translation of *The Venetian Interdict*,† out of the Italian into excellent Latin, together with *The History of The Inquisition*, and dedicated them both to King James, which he was much satisfied with; Sir Henry Wotton, the ambassador, seconding the dedication with his highest commendation of the

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* The Archbishop of Spalato did not accompany Bedell on his return to England in 1610; but came hither alone in 1616. See his *Consilium Profectionis*, which he published at Venice in the last mentioned year.

† *Interdicti Veneti Historia;* authore R. P. Paulo Sarpio. 4to. Cantab. 1626. Dr. Cotton queries whether that is not the same work as *Historia Rerum inter Paulum V. P. M. et Rempublicum Venetam*, &c., which was also published (in 4to.) at Cambridge in 1626.

translator. He translated also the two last books of the *Council of Trent* into Latin;* the two first being done by Sir Adam Newton, the Prince's tutor, of which I heard him say, that when Spaletensis had it presented unto him, and had compared the first five or six lines of the Italian with the Latin, he said these words: '*non est idem*,' the first words of the Italian being these; I will write the Council of Trent. He said that the translator had followed too much the Latin phrase, and had often left the true idiom of the Italian behind him; but so did not Dr. Bedell, who excelled even to a miracle in both languages.

I heard him say that Spalatensis was cozened out of England, and out of religion, and at last out of his life by Gundamor, the greatest machevillian of his time, that persuaded him to return to Rome, the Pope being his old acquaintance and schoolfellow, and that a cardinal's cap was ready for him. This proud, ambitious man, though he had a honorable reception here, and maintenance for a prince at the Savoy,†

* *Historia Concilii Tridentini* [a Paulo Sarpio Italicè Conscripta], Latine versa. Fol. Augustæ Trinobantum (i.e. *Londini*), 1620.

† King James, besides many other substantial gifts, bestowed upon him the Deanery of Windsor and the Mastership of the Savoy (together worth 800*l* per ann.) The last-mentioned preferment he received, 26 March 1618, and the former on the 13 May following. To the Mastership of the Hospital of the Savoy was attached a good parsonage, at West Ilsley

and rich presents given him by the nobility and clergy; yet stole away, after he had given so great testimony to the truth, by his preaching, and large writings against popery, that he might go and return to his own place, having been about eighteen months in England; being it is reported and believed by many, to this day, that he said to Dr. H[all] * at his departure: *Testor Deum immortalem, me in vitum ex Anglia discedere.*

The Pope having civilly received him at his first approach, he met with Bellamin, that had written against him; to whom he said: "Sir, you have not answered my arguments;" who immediately went in and told the Pope that Spalatensis was of the same mind still, that he was of in England. He being called, said for his defence: "That he had said indeed, that "Cardinal Bellamin had not answered his arguments, "yet they were not unanswerable; but if His Holiness

in Berkshire; "and finding (say Tom Fuller, who, like the majority of his brethren, the puritans in England, had little respect for De Dominis) our precedent in his predecessor, he collated this parsonage on himself, and there made shift for so much English as sufficed him to read the Nine and Thirty Articles, which formerly he had subscribed. Thus had he two houses furnished above plenty, even unto magnificence, and might alternately exchange society for privacy at pleasure." *(Church Hist.* v. 507, edit. 1845.)

* Dr. Joseph Hall, successively Dean of Worcester, Bishop of Exeter and Norwich.

"would allow him time, he would answer them him-"self." But his excuse and shift did not serve his turn; he is cast into the Inquisition, and, instead of bringing him to trial for heresy, he is poisoned, and his body cast out at a window, and all his goods confiscate to the Pope; for he had brought great store of wealth with him out of England, *anno* 1623. My lord of Kilmore did much bemoan him; many Italian letters passing still between them on matters of religion.*

* The correspondence here referred to probably perished, with the rest of Bishop Bedell's papers, in the Irish Rebellion of 1641.—There are few characters in ecclesiastical history more perplexing than that of the unfortunate Archbishop of Spalato. Beloved by few, hated by many, and suspected by most of his contemporaries, it is scarcely possible in this late day to arrive at a just decision respecting his conduct, either in public or private life. From the fact of Bedell having corresponded with him to the last, and "bemoaned him" when dead, it would appear, that he was one of the few who entertained a good opinion of him. Bishop Cosin, who knew him equally well, has offered the following apology for his conduct; which, as it proceeds from such an unquestionable authority, is worthy of repetition: "Being daily vexed with many affronts and injuries, and wearied by the unjust persecutions of some sour and over-rigid men (he alludes to Archbishop Abbot and his *protegèes*, the Puritans), who bitterly declaimed everywhere against his life and actions, he [de Dominis] at last resolved to return into Italy with a safe conduct. Before he departed, he was, by order from the King, questioned by some commissionated bishops, what he thought of the religion and Church of England, which for so many years he had served and obeyed, and what he would say of it in the Roman Court? To this query, he gave in writing this

About this time Dr. Wadsworth, the apostate chaplain (whom I mentioned before), having yet his belly-full of Spanish Popery, began to write to Dr. Bedell and Dr. Hall, in matters of religion, and to justify his exchange and revolt. Dr. Bedell answers and refutes all that he could say, so solidly and

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memorable answer: 'I am resolved, even with the danger of my life, to profess before the Pope himself, that the Church of England is a true and orthodox Church of Christ.' This he not only promised but faithfully performed; for though soon after his departure there came a book out of the Low Countries, falsely bearing his name, by whose title many were deceived, and thereby moved to tax him with apostacy, and of being another Ecebolius; yet when he came to Rome, where he was most kindly entertained in the palace of Pope Gregory XV. (who formerly had been his fellow-student), he could never be persuaded by the Jesuits and others, who daily thronged upon him, either to subscribe the newly-devised tenets of the Council of Trent, or to retract those orthodox books which he had printed in England and Germany, or to renounce the communion of the Church of England, in whose defence he constantly persisted to the very last. But presently after the decease of Pope Gregory, he was imprisoned by the Jesuits and inquisitors in the castle of St. Angelo, where, by being barbarously used and almost starved, he soon got a mortal sickness and died in a few days, though not without suspicion of being poisoned. The day following, his corpse was, by the sentence of the Inquisition, tied to an infamous stake, and then burnt to ashes, for no other reason but that he refused to make abjuration of the religion of the Church of England." Bishop Cosin concludes these observations, which he affirms were unknown to many, by saying: "that he had taken occasion of inserting this narrative to make it appear, that this reverend prelate, who did such service to the Church of God, might be truly reckoned among the writers of the Church of England."—*(Hist. of Transubst.* p. 23.)

convincingly, in so pacific and christian a style, that I have reason to believe it prevailed with him to his final recovery (and dedicates it to Prince Charles, anno 1624). For after many years, his son came from Spain into Ireland to my Lord of Kilmore's house, and told him that his father thankt him for his book; and that he delighted much in it; and that it was ever before him; and that he heard him say these words: "I will save one."* This young man wrote the tract called *The English-Spanish Pilgrim*, which is to be seen in many places, in which is an account of the education of the present bishop of H——.†

I know not anything that ever was written against Popery, that will yield more true satifaction to a rational reader than those letters that Dr. Bedell sent into Spain; the effect of which was well known in Ireland to the conversion of many Irish and English

* The passage to which Clogy refers, in the *English-Spanish Pilgrim* (4to. Lond. 1630), is, I presume, the following: "Now my father continued in his tutorship of the Infant untill he fell sicke and dyed, November the last, 1623; the chiefe occasion of his death being this: The Jesuites and their dependants, seeing that he consulted not with them as in times past, for finding himself wonderfully mistaken in them and their religion, said it was high time for him to look to his owne soule, and yet he doubted not if it pleased God, but *he would save one*,"—meaning probably himself. (p. 49.)

† To whom this refers, I know not. I have searched the tract in question in vain for an elucidation of his meaning.

Papists. I wish they were reprinted in these times, there being above fifty years run out since the first printing of them, and very few of them to be found.*

Dr. Bedell having continued preacher at St. Edmundsbury till the year 1625, he was presented to a parsonage called Horningsheath,† in Suffolk, near St. Edmundsbury, by Sir Thomas Jermin of Ryshbrooke, in that county, a great courtier and privy councillor, and vice-chamberlain to King Charles the First, whose father, Robert Jermin, *Miles*, was a person of singular piety, a bountiful benefactor to Emmanuel College, and a man of great command in his country, as Dr. Fuller writes of him in his history of *The Worthies*

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* These letters (of which Izaak Walton says, "In them there seems to be a controversie, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness,") were printed in 1624, (4to. Lond.,) under the title of "*Copies of certaine Letters which passed in matters of Religion, between J. Wadesworth and W. Bedell;*" and were reprinted with Burnet's Life of the Bishop, in 1685 and 1736. "It is to be observed in Chap. X of these Letters, there are several passages inserted in the edition of 1685, which had not been in the original edition of 1624. These were put in by Sir Roger Lestrange, the Licenser of the Press, who would not permit the Letters, to be reprinted without these alterations." (MS. note by J. Lewis of Margate). In the second edition of Burnet's Life of the Bishop, 8vo. 1736, these interpolations were withdrawn.

† Bedell was instituted to the Rectory of Horningsheath on the 13th March, 1625.

of England; his son, Sir Thomas, was a lover of the best of men, and did glory much in this, that he had preferred to his benefice the most famous and eminent divine in all their coasts.

I cannot pass by that remarkable passage, that when the bishop * offered him his instruments of institution and induction, and demanded large fees, he refused to receive his title upon that account, but only to pay the secretary for the writing, the wax, and parchment what was fit. The bishop asked, why he did refuse to pay what was demanded, which others did pay? He said it was Simony, and contrary to Christ's and the Apostles' rule, "*gratis accepistis, gratis date.*" And being asked what was Simony? he answered, "it was *vendere spiritualia spiritualibus;*" and so he went away without his titles to his new benefice. But within a few days the bishop sent him his titles *gratis.* It may be, he had acquainted his patron with it; who said, he would let the king know it, that knew Dr. Bedell so well. This I had partly from himself, and partly from Mr. Southby, that worthy person of whom mention is made, (p. 5).

A man would have thought, that he being employed in foreign negociations, in matters of state of greatest

* Dr. Samuel Harsnet, Bishop of Norwich. He was translated to York in 1628.

concernment, and being so great an ornament to the Protestant religion, by his wonderful learning and exemplary living, and so eminently instrumental in the almost-conversion of the Venetian State; that had dedicated so many books to the King, after so many years peregrination, might have cast anchor in the port of preferment, at his very first arrival (there being none since the apostles' days more richly endowed with all gifts and graces, in the judgment of all that knew him), if true learning and worth had been in any deserved esteem: but he, like a faithful shepherd, that longed to know the state of his flock (though many epistles had passed between them), retires to his private charge; and, like the triumphant husbandman in the Roman history, that after his victory over the Samnites laid down his Dictatorship, and returned to his husbandry; so he to the plough of the Gospel, in the field where he left it, until the year 1615, that he entered upon his small benefice of Horningsheath, where he continued to the year 1627.

But I remember to have been told one particular circumstance of Dr. Bedell by a person of honor, who was well acquainted with Diodati,* which was this:

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* Jean Diodati, the celebrated theologian of Geneva, who published an Italian translation of the Bible in 1607, and a French translation in 1644. Whilst travelling in Italy, about the year 1608, he became

that about *anno*, 1627, Diodati was at London, and having enquired with much diligence for Dr. Bedell, in all the bishops' company that he lighted on, wondered extremely he could meet with none of the clergy that knew him, or ever heard of his name; so that he despaired of ever coming to the knowledge of him here. And this increased his wonder, that he should have the good luck to be so well known and esteemed abroad, and admitted into the bosom-acquaintance of the Phœnix of his age, I mean Padre Paulo, and yet have the misfortune to be so little noticed, and without honor in his own country. At last, when he least thought of him, he met with him by chance in Cheapside, and embraced him with all the joyful affection imaginable, until they both shew many tears; after which interview, Diodati carried him to the Bishop of Durham, Dr. Moreton,* and gave that learned Bishop such a character of Dr. Bedell, that he presently took particular care to have him provided for.

His former patron in Venice S[ir] H[enry] W[otton] followed him with wonderful respects as long as he

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acquainted with Sarpi, Fulgentio, and Bedell at Venice; with whom he heartily concurred in their opposition to Rome and the Arminians, or Remonstrants, as they were then called.

* Dr. Thomas Moreton, who at that time was Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. He was translated to Durham in 1632.

lived in prosperity, and in his adversity Dr. Bedell was much afflicted for him, and not unmindful of him when his potent friends forgot him, to let such an able statesman die as it were in prison, having super-expended himself for the public, as many public Ministers of State often do to their ruin. His latter patron Sir Thomas Jermin did so highly own him, and reverence him, as if he had been his father, and heard him gladly; and did many things for the good of himself and family at his word; for in all matters of state he stuck to him; and in all trouble he vindicated him, and kept correspondence with him all his days in Ireland; and when he least desired or expected it, he sent him a patent from the King for two bishoprics, as hereafter you shall read.

After this meeting with Diodati, he was not long resident upon his benefice in Suffolk, when through the fame of his worth and writings, he was solemnly invited to the Provostship over the Seminary of learning that is in Trinity College in Dublin, after the death of Sir William Temple,* He was chosen by all the Fellows that had never seen him; written to by famous Doctor Usher, Primate of all Ireland, that had

* "Anno Dom. 1626, Jan. 15. Sir William Temple, Provost, dyed, having ruled 17 or 18 yeares." (Extract from the MS. *Register* of the University.)

heard great things of him, and required by the King to accept the calling; being esteemed by all persons to be qualified for such an employment. And for the better information of all such as have pleasure in reading the just commendation of worthy persons, for the imitation of those that succeed them, that they may study more to be like them in their parts, than hunt after their places of preferment, that many do that have little worth in them, I will here set down the copy of Sir H. Wotton's letter to the King, in the behalf of Dr. Bedell, when he was desired by the Archbishop of Armagh to accept of the Provostship of Dublin College in Ireland. Which letter hath been often printed, and is to be found in the *Life of Sir H. Wotton* published by Isaac Walton, and in the Character of Bishop Bedell, written by Dr. Bernard, by Dr. P. Heyling, Loyd, and others:

"May it please your most gracious Majesty,

"Having been informed that certain persons have "by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, "been directed hither, with a most humble petition "unto y^r^ Maj^ty^ that you will be pleased to make Mr. "William Bedell (now resident upon a small benefice "in Suffolk) Governour of your College of Dublin, for "the good of that Society, and myself being required "to render to y^r^ Majesty some testimony of the said "William Bedell, who was long my Chaplain at

" Venice, in the time of my employment there, I am " bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your " Majesty will accept of my poor judgment) to affirm " of him, that I think hardly a fitter man could have " been propounded to your Majesty in your whole " Kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity " to the rites of the Church, and zeal to advance the " cause of God, wherein his travels abroad were not " obscure in the time of the excommunication of the " Venetians: for may it please your Majesty to know " that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took (I may " say) into his very soul, with whom he did communi- " cate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom " he professed to have received more knowledge in all " divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from " any that he had ever practised in his days, of which " all the passages were well known unto the King " your father of blessed memory; and so with your " Majesty's good favor, I will end this needless office, " for the general fame of his learning, his life, and " christian temper, and those religious labors which " himself hath dedicated to y^r^ Majesty do better " describe him than I am able.

" Your Majesty's most humble
" and faithful servant,
H. Wotton,"

Now having so clear a call from God, and the

King, and all persons concerned, he left his native soil, and accepted of the Provostship of the College of Dublin (Aug. 1627), to the great joy of heart of all good men there, and the exceeding great profit of the students, above all that were before him, or came after him; for he reformed many abuses, settled many excellent orders; he reduced the scattered statutes into a method,* and the scholars into a godly discipline of true learning and christianity mingled together, by his catechising in the college, and preaching every week once in Christ's Church, which he was not bound unto by his place, nor any other outward obligation. The Church Catechism he divided into fifty-two parts, according to the number of the Sabbaths of the year,

* "His chief and prime care (says the College Register) was to make up a compleat and perfect Statute-book, by freeing those that were doubtful or ambiguous before, and by adding others that were wanting and not less necessary: as the appointing of the chapel for divine exercises, and administration of the sacraments once every term, and at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost; the reading of a chapter in the Bible still before meales; the appointment of two common places weekly in the Chapel throughout the whole yeare, by the ffellowes and masters in their courses. Soe likewise that no probationers or junior ffellowes shall or ought to have any voice in the election of a provost; or in matters concerning the government of the College. That noe marryed man should be admitted a scholar or ffellowe; and that there should be but one deane, whereas there were two in times past."—(Quoted in *The Quarterly Journal of Education*, Vol. VI. p. 24.)

and did explain one part each Sabbath-day in the afternoon; of which explication many copies were written by the scholars and others in Dublin, which I wish heartily might yet be searcht for, and published; for, I am sure, it would help all orders of men in their understanding of the first principles of Christianity, above all books that are written of that subject, only a private catechism of Dr. Usher's being there used before him.

He was not long Provost and President over the schools of the Sons of the Prophets in Dublin, but he was advanced to the episcopal dignity, anno 1629;* and none ever esteemed a greater ornament to that sacred function by all that knew him, since the Apostles' days, and might well have been chosen for the christian patriarch of any nation under heaven, his honorable patron, Sir Tho. Jermin (mentioned p. 24), pursued him with all respects he could heap

* He was promoted to the united Sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, by patent dated 20th of May 1629, and was consecrated at Drogheda, by Archbishop Ussher, on the 13th September following, who was assisted by the Bishops of Down and Connor, Dromore, and Clogher. "The delay of my consecration so long (says he) was occasioned partly by the desire of our fellows to have a *free* election; partly out of my Lord Primate's and mine, to renew the College nester leases before an unknown successor should come; which, I thank God, I have happily effected." (Bedell to Ward. 6 Oct. 1629.)

upon him, and sent him from the King (of his own procurement) a patent for the bishopric of Kilmore in the county of Cavan, and for the bishopric of Ardagh in the county of Longford, both in the province of Ulster. And of this last station in this life, I can give some larger account than of any the former (which I was not an eye, but an ear witness of), till his final remove out of the pilgrimage of this troublesome world into his everlasting rest.

And though it be *rara avis in terris*, a very rare thing to find a man that lives soberly, righteously, and godly, yet it is far rarer to find such a one without troubles and adversaries, that stands before God in any eminency, as Daniel did; the ground of whose preferment was, because an excellent spirit was in him, and the ground of the malice of his malignant enemies against him, because he was faithful; neither was any error or fault found in him, but was all his life a follower of that which was good, in the sight of God and good men. The greatest harm he sustained, and enmity he underwent, was from those of his own house—I mean of his own order, amongst whom he did shine as a star of the first magnitude, till he did set under that dark cloud of the captivity of the land.

He found in this his new calling such a multiplicity of business, as it were besieging him, and conspiring against him on every side, that might have discou-

raged many mortals; but in the strength of the Lord God, he went cheerfully through them all; and the Lord delivered him out of them all.

When he was come into his dioceses, he found such dilapidations, such disorders in his clergy, courts, and people of all sorts, as if he had come there immediately after the rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone, and the Earl of Tryconnel, assisted by Don John d'Aquila, which Queen Elizabeth (of blessed memory) put to an end, by the Lord Mountjoy, *anno* 1600. For the former bishop Moigne* had set up such a shop of mundination and merchandize, as if all things spiritual and temporal, belonging to episcopacy, had been ordinary vendible commodities, as in the Church of Rome; for he understood those words of St. Paul, as once one is said to have read them, *Qui desiderat episcopatum bonum, opes desiderat;* for he made havoc of all, as Capon, the predecessor of precious Jewel, is recorded to have done; who devoured all, as Varus, who is said

* Thomas Moygne, B.D., a Fellow of Peter-House, Cambridge, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and Archdeacon of Meath, succeeded to the united bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh, by patent dated Dec. 17, 1612. He greatly repaired the church of Kilmore, and built "a fair stone house" there, for the residence of the bishops. During his incumbency King James restored or confirmed the ancient possessions of those sees. Bishop Moygne died in Dublin, on 1st Jan. 1628-9, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral. (Cotton's *Fasti Eccles. Hib.*)

to have entered poor into the rich province of Syria, but left it poor, himself being enriched by it. This Bishop Moigne had leased out, to my Lord Lambert and Sir Hugh Cullum, almost all the Termon land (so all land is called in Ireland, that a bishop by the law of the land may let or set for lives, or a certain number of years), and also the mensal lands (so called because they may not be set or let, but during the bishop's incumbency, or life only), and had taken great fines, and very considerable rents reserved for the maintenance of his successor. He had sold some perpetual advowsons, which ought not to have been done; and upon the ruins of these two stript bishoprics had founded his family, and purchased a segniory for his son; for being a man of no understanding, and all his learning being confined to the common Prayer Book, he must needs, like a good merchant, make sale of God's commodities, that he had bought at a considerable rate; orders and livings sold to those that could pay the greatest fines, &c. Therefore my lord of Kilmore commenced a suit against his widow, Mistress Moigne, and his son Roger Moigne, and so recovered somewhat of the spoil.

This Roger Moigne was afterwards killed by the rebels near Drogheda, with six hundred men that were sent from Dublin to relieve it, when it was close besieged by the Ulster rebels; the unhappy word of

command (to countermarch) given unseasonably to new levied and undisciplined men, in the view of their enemies, which put them into sad disorder; which the vigilant enemy spying, fell in amongst them, and put them all to the sword, only Sir Patrick Weems, that commanded my Lord of Ormond's troops, escaped with the horse to Drogheda.

That you may the better understand the state in which he found these two bishoprics, I will set down his own letter to the [Arch]bishop of Canterbury, which is published by Mr. Prince, in his history of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, out of which I copied it. It is thus endorsed by the Archbishop: "April 1, 1630. Fro Dr. Bedell, Lord Bishop of "Kilmore and Ardagh, about the state of the Church "in his Dioceses, and the Papists in Ireland, who "writes thus hereof:"—

"Right Reverend Father, my Honourable good "Lord,

"Since my coming to this place, which was a "little before Michaelmas (till which time the settling "of the state of the College, and my Lord Primate's "visitation deferred my consecration) I have not been "unmindful of your lordship's commands to advertise "you as my experience should inform of the state of "the Church, which I shall now the better do, because "I have been about my dioceses, and can set down

" out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate;
" and shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words,
" it is very miserable. The Cathedral Church of
" Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and
" said to be built by St. Patrick, together with the
" bishop's house there, down to the ground. The
" Church here built, but without bell, or steeple, font
" or chalice. The Parish Churches all in a manner
" ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired; the people,
" saving a few British planters here and there (which
" are not the tenth part of the remnant), obstinate
" recusants; a Popish clergy more numerous by far
" than we, and in full exercise of all jurisdiction
" ecclesiastical, by their Vicar-General and officials;
" who are so confident, as they excommunicate those
" that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes,
" which affront hath been offered myself by the Popish
" Primate's Vicar-General, for which I have begun a
" process against him. The Primate himself lives in
" my parish, within two miles of my house; the
" Bishop in another part of my diocese further off;
" every Papist has his Priest, and some two or three
" a-piece; and so their mass-houses also. In some
" places mass is said in the churches; friars there are
" in divers places, who go about, though not, in their
" habit, and by their importunate begging impoverish
" the people, who indeed are generally very poor, as

" from that cause, so from their paying double tythes,
" to their own clergy and ours; from the dearth of
" corn, and the death of their cattle these late years,
" with their contribution to their soldiers, and their
" agents, and, which they forget not to reckon among
" other causes, the oppression of the Court ecclesiastical,
" which in very truth, my Lord, I cannot excuse, and
" do seek to reform: For our own, there are seven or
" eight ministers in each diocese of good sufficiency,
" and (which is no small cause of the continuance of
" the people in Popery still) English, which have not
" the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine
" offices, or converse with them, and which hold many
" of them, two or three, four or more vicarages a-piece.
" Even the clerkships themselves are in like manner
" conferred upon the English, and sometimes two or
" three or more upon one man, and ordinarily bought
" and sold, or let to farm, &c. His Majesty is now
" with the greatest part of this country, as to their
" hearts and consciences, King but at the Pope's
" discretion, &c.

" WILL. KILMORE & ARDAGH.

" Kilmore the 1st of April
1630."

This letter shows in what a woful condition this good shepherd found his new flock and charge, and what great need there was of a general reformation of

the whole kingdom, that was in the same case with his dioceses; and what sad presages the insolences of the Romish party were of the approaching rebellion, if men had had eyes to see and ears to hear.

Not only had his predecessor embezzled the revenues of these two impoverished bishoprics, and left them as you see wretched and miserable, but after his death two violent and unjust men seized upon some lands appertaining to them, and forcibly keep possession; against whom my Lord of Kilmore makes his complaint to the State in this petition following:—

"To the Right Hon^ble Henry, Lord Viscount Falkland, Lord Deputy of this Kingdom of Ireland, and the rest of His Majesty's High Council of the same:

The Humble Petition of William Bedell, designed Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.

Humbly shewing,

That whereas His Majesty hath been graciously pleased to constitute and appoint your petitioner to be Bishop of the said sees, and to grant unto him the investiture and restitution of the temporallies of the same, in as large and ample manner as the late bishop, or any other bishop of the said sees, have or might lawfully have enjoyed the same. And whereas Sir Edward Bagshaw, Knight, since the death of the late bishop, in the vacancy of the said sees hath entered

upon two poles of land called Agarosikilly, parcel of the Termon of the see of Kilmore, whereof your petitioner's predecessor died seised; and Sir Francis Hamilton, Knight, hath likewise entered upon one gallon of land called Armagh, parcel of the Mensall lands of the said see of Kilmore, which by order from this Hon^ble^ Board was sundry years since restored to the possession of your petitioner's said predecessor, and so quietly enjoyed, and whereof he died seised and possessed. And for that his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to appoint that your petitioner should be relieved at this Hon^ble^ Board against any unlawful act done by any person or persons to the impairing of the fruits and profits of the said bishoprick,

Your Petitioner humbly prayeth that he may be restored to the possession of the said lands enjoyed by his predecessor, and kept in the same, till the said Sir Edward Bagshaw and Sir Francis Hamilton shall show reason to the contrary to this Board, and he shall always pray for your Honours happiness and prosperity."

Finding therefore such confusion and desolation, he like a faithful trustee and observer of God's flock, resolves upon a thorough reformation of his clergy, of his courts ecclesiastical, and of all that people committed to his charge, and specially to the Irish, in comparison of whom the English, Welsh, and Scots,

were few in number. And all these holy and honorable designs commence at the same time of his entrance, and continue during his incumbency, in his episcopacy, of which I shall give you a particular account, after I have inserted one remarkable passage concerning him, which is as follows:—

Sir Thomas Wentworth entering Lord Deputy, *anno* 1633, was stirred up by sinister information against this good man, ere ever he landed in Ireland. The occasion was this: My lord of Kilmore, with some others, was reported to have put his hand to a petition of some public concernment,* but the spirit of the Lord Deputy (and of those times) did so disrelish and dislike the report of it, whether true or false, that whatsoever writing, commission, or order came before him, wherein he found the name of the Bishop of Kilmore, he immediately, with great indignation, dashed it out with his pen, whatsoever concern it were of; so that the Bishop being informed hereof, and conceiving that he was unjustly incensed against him, came not up to Dublin (as the other prelates did), to do his homage unto him, and congratulate

* The Petition here alluded to was from the gentry of Cavan, in which certain complaints were made of the army, and some regulations proposed to control it. The jealous Lord Deputy viewed these suggestions as a gross infringement of the royal prerogative, and resented it accordingly. (See *Strafforde Letters*, vol. i. pp. 125, 126.)

his safe and happy arrival, and honorable entrance upon the magistracy over them. But wrote immediately to Sir Thomas Jermin, his loving patron, and other potent friends, and sent them the petition itself, with this account of the new Lord Deputy's wrath, that was so hotly kindled against him. Whereupon letters were sent from England in all haste to the Lord Deputy, whereby he received such satisfying information concerning the Bishop of Kilmore, that when he came to present himself before him, he rose from all his nobles and ran to embrace him with such reverent respects that all present did admire it, and invited him to dine with him that day, and many times after to his table, and gave him access and audience ever afterwards, and continued all respects unto him (above many of his order) untill he was called away by the Parliament of England, *anno* 1640.

Thus, in the first place, the Lord that hath all men's hearts in his hand, turned the heart of the Lord Duputy towards him, when most men expected either imprisonment (which the Lord Deputy was not esteemed sparing of, upon small provocations), or loss of his bishopric. And though this matter was talked of far and near, I will set down his letter, which he wrote to the Lord Deputy of Ireland in vindication of himself about the maintenance of the Irish army, and the Cavan Petition, which he sent enclosed in another

letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury; which also I copied out of Mr. Prince's book, who finding it amongst my Lord of Canterbury's papers, thought it worthy to be published, as being more full and observable in some memorable passages concerning the increase and insolences of the Papists in Ireland.

"Right Hon^ble. my good Lord,*

"In the midst of these thoughts, I have been "advertised from an honorable friend in England, "that I am accused to his Majesty, to have opposed "his service, and that my hand, with two other "bishops only, was to a writing touching the money "to be levied on the Papists, for maintenance of the "men of war, &c. Indeed, if I should have had such "an intention, this had been not only to oppose the "service of his Majesty, but to expose, with the public "peace, mine own neck to the sceanes of the Romish "cut-throats.

"I that know that in this kingdom of his Majesty, "the Pope hath another kingdom, far greater in "number, &c., as I have heretofore signified to the "Lords Justices and Council (which is also since "justified by themselves in print) constantly guided "and directed, by the order of the new Congregation

* This Letter is neither given in full, nor correctly by Mr. Clogy. (See Burnet's *Life of Bedell.*)

" *De propogandâ fide*, lately erected at Rome, **trans-**
" mitted by means of the Pope's nuncios residing **at**
" Brussells or Paris; that the Pope hath here a **clergy**,
" if I may guess by my own diocese, double in **number**
" to us, the heads whereof are by corporal oath **bound**
" to him, to maintain him and his regalities, *contra*
" *omnem hominem;* and to execute his mandates, to
" the uttermost of their forces, which accordingly they
" do, styling themselves in print, *Ego, N. Dei et*
" *Apostolicæ Sedis gratiâ Episcopus, Fermiens, et Os-*
" *sorien, &c.* I that know there is in this kingdom,
" for the moulding of the people to the Pope's obedi-
" ence, a rabble of irregular Regulars, commonly
" younger brothers of good families, who are grown to
" that insolency as to advance themselves to be mem-
" bers of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in better ranks
" than priests, insomuch that the censure of the
" Sorbonne is fain to be implored to curb them, which
" yet is called in again, so tender is the Pope of his
" own creatures. I that know that his holiness hath
" erected a new University in Dublin, to confront his
" Majesty's College there, and to breed up the youth
" of the kingdom to his devotion; of which University
" one Paul Harris, the author of that infamous libel,
" which was put forth in print against my Lord
" Armach's Wansted-sermon, styleth himself in print
" to be Dean. I that know, have given advertise-

" ment to the State, that these Regulars dare erect
" new friaries in the country, since the dissolving
" of this city, that they have brought the people
" to such a sottish senselessness, as they care not
" to learn the commandments, as God himself
" spake and writ to them; but they flock in great
" numbers to the preaching of new, superstitious
" and detestable doctrines, such as their own priests
" are ashamed of; and at all these they levy collec-
" tions, three, four, five, or six pounds at a sermon.
" Shortly, I that know that these Regulars, and this
" Clergy, have at a general meeting, like to a Synod,
" as themselves style it, decreed that it is not lawful
" to take an oath of allegiance; and, if they be
" constant to their own doctrine, do account his
" Majesty, in their hearts, to be king but at the Pope's
" discretion. In this state of this kingdom, to think
" the bridle of the army may be taken away, it should
" be thought, not of a brainsick, but of a brainless,
" man. Your lordship's in all duty,
WILLIAM KILMORE."

The day of deliverance from the Popish Powder-plot. *An.* 1633.

Here you see his clear vindication from that aspersion of reducing the army of defence, and the delineation of those insufferable proceedings of the Papists in any

Christian republic; all of which were signally preparatory to that swift destruction that came upon us, which this man of God, like another Elijah did clearly see and foresee; but few laid it to heart as he did.

But in the meanwhile he goes about his work, which is indeed the work of God, that he was called to, and set up for; and first, he begins with the reformation of his clergy, most of whom he finds pluralists, or non-residents,* many *tot quots* and residence upon

* It appears from Archbishop Ussher's Visitation-book, preserved among the MSS. in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, that, besides the two deaneries and acrhdeaconries, there were sixty-four benefices (of which about twenty of the incumbents were non-residents) in the united dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh. The difficulties the newly-appointed bishop had to surmount may be gathered as well from the correspondence of the Lord Deputy Wentworth, as from the text of this memoir: *e.g.* "An unlearned clergy, which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves with, nor their persons any way reverenced or protected; the churches unbuilt; the parsonage and vicarage houses utterly ruined; the people untaught through the non-residency of the clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful numbers of spiritual promotions with cure of souls, which they hold by *commendams;* the rites and ceremonies of the church run over without all decency of habit, order, or gravity, in the course of their service; the possessions of the church to a great proportion in lay hands; the bishops aliening their very principal houses and demesnes to their children, to strangers; farming out the jurisdictions to mean and unworthy persons; the Popish titulars exercising the whilst a foreign jurisdiction much greater than theirs. The schools which

none; some ministers that had not one Protestant in their whole parish, and such as had married Irish women, their wives and children went to mass, and their servants, if they were Irish.

For the removal of such sad abuses, he assembles his clergy together at Cavan, and after sermon (wherein, out of the Scriptures and antiquity, having set before them, with great evidence and demonstration of God's spirit, the justification, nature, work, and end of the ministry of the Gospel, &c.), he propounds unto them, as a father to his children, or as a brother to his brethren, like another Joseph (always styling them *fratres* and *compresbyteri*, when he spake in Latin) the necessity of reformation of those intolerable abuses, tending to the scandal of the reformed religion amongst the natives, and destruction of themselves as well as their flocks.

Which speech of his, being accompanied with so much piety, moderation, and gravity, as if he had had no civil pre-eminence over them, left such impressions

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might be a means to secure the youth in virtue and religion, either ill-provided, ill-governed in the most part, or, which is worse, applied sometimes underhand to the maintenance of Popish schoolmasters. Lands given to these charitable uses, and that in bountiful proportion, especially by king James of ever blessed memory, dissipated, leased forth for little or nothing, concealed contrary to all conscience and the excellent purpose of the founders." (Wentworth to Laud. 31 Jan. 1633. See Strafford's *Letters*. i. 187, 188.)

upon their spirits, that it received an universal resentment and applause, with submission to all that was propounded; as Ezra found, when he went about the reformation of marriage, to cause every one, that had taken strange wives, to put them away, when all the congregation answered and said with a loud voice, *As thou hast said, so must we do;* namely, to cleave to one benefice and resign the other.

And that he might be exemplary in this just motion (precepts or exhortation signifying little without good example), he desires of them no more than what he intends to do himself; that what they see him do, that is their spiritual leader, they also may do likewise with greater alacrity: Therefore, he begins with himself, and having two bishoprics or benefices, he resolves to part with one, and cleave to the other. In order to the solemn accomplishment of this noble and self-denying resolution, he sends immediately for a worthy learned man, and of good report, Dr. John Richardson,*

* Dr. John Richardson, Archdeacon (not Dean) of Derry. On Bishop Bedell's resignation, he was advanced to the see of Ardagh, by patent, dated 14 May 1633. Lloyd thus quaintly describes him: "He was peculiar for a very grave countenance, and his being extraordinary textuary; by the same token, that they who would not let him preach on the Scripture in the late times, desired his help to comment upon it; for his is the painful Comment (in the larger Annotations) upon Ezekiel." (*Memoirs of Persons who suffered for the Protestant Religion.* Fol. 1668.)

Dean of D[erry] (who married the daughter of Sir Hugh Bromley, of Bromley, in Warrell of Cheshire), and without bartering, trucking, merchandizing, or any other simoniacal compact whatsoever, resigned the bishopric of Ardagh unto him *gratis*, under his hand and seal for ever, before many eminent witnesses; and that not out of a vain-glorious and pharisaical ostentation, or affectation of popular applause, to be seen of men; but a pious declaration of the sincerity and upright intention of his heart in the sight of God and good men. And though there be many parsonages in England better than both these robbed and peeled bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh in Ireland; and although also he was at no small charge with his adversaries and despoilers, in rescuing and recovering some part of the rights of each alike; and though they were never separate before, nor since; but are now both in the hand of Dr. Marsh,* Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, as himself told me; yet he rejoiced with much inward tranquillity of mind and content, after he had divested and eased himself of this burthen of pluralities.

This bishopric of Ardagh, Dr. Richardson did

* Dr. Francis Marsh, who was translated from Limerick to Kilmore and Ardagh, in 1643; and thence to Dublin in 1672.

peaceably enjoy till the Rebellion that overturned all.*

Being led by so fair a precedent, those ministers that had two or more benefices than one, were confined to which they pleased to choose, and all enjoined to personal and perpetual residence upon their several benefices for time to come. Dr. Bernard, being Dean of Kilmore, is neither willing to be resident, nor to part with any of his benefices, and therefore exchanged his Deanery of Kilmore with Dr. Henry Jones, for his Deanery of Ardagh†; who was eldest son to the Bishop of Kilala, and married Sir Hugh Cullum's daughter; and his younger brother, Michael, (that afterwards in the wars was Col. Jones) married the mother. He was Dean of Kilmore till the Rebellion, and after Bishop of Clogher. Dr. Bernard, Dean of Ardagh, being then the Primate's chaplain, took up his residence in Drogheda till all was lost.

And because this could not be well accomplished on

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* Dr. Richardson quitted Ireland on the eve of the Rebellion in 1641, and died in London 11 Aug. 1654. Æt. 74. Cotton's *Fasti Eccle. Hib.*

† "The biographers of Bishop Bedell (says Dr. Elrington, in his *Life of Ussher*, p. 115) state, that Dr. Bernard was so ashamed of his being the only person who resisted the Bishop's wishes about pluralities, that he exchanged his deanery for that of Ardagh; but this is not correct, for he did not make the exchange till 1637."

a sudden, for in the plantation of Ulster, after King James his coming to the crown (Tyrone's rebellion being quite husht), the king was pleased to allow, and give order for large parcels of grounds to be annexed to each church for glebeland; which were so ill laid out, and assigned by the surveyors and commissioners appointed thereunto (so contrary to the royal intention of the king), whereof Sir William Parsons was chief, that scarce one minister of ten, had a foot of glebeland in his own parish; and in other parishes it lay not together neither, but scattered up and down, in several small parcels. The county town of Cavan had lands in two parishes, many miles distant from the parish church, but none within the parish: and by the king's patent under the broad seals (which the minister of each bishopric in Ulster had distinct for themselves in particular), the incumbent of each parish was required, obliged, and strictly enjoined, to build a mansion-house for his personal residence upon the premises, forty-foot long and thirty-foot high, within such a compass of time, that was limited in the Grant. Now this consideration brought all the ministers in such a straight, that they could not tell what to say, or do. For they were brought into this dilemma, that if they builded upon their glebe, so far distant from the parish church, they could never be resident; and if they resolved upon residing, according to the Bishop of Kilmore's

exhortation and injunction, it were folly to build at such a distance, as by their patent they were bound.

To extricate the clergy out of this intricacy and snare, my lord propounds this expediency: He had some lands lying abroad about most parish churches, and near unto them belonging to his bishopric, throughout the whole diocese; he offers to accept of those several parcels of glebelands, by patent assigned to each church in lieu, and exchange of his own lands, that lay so conveniently for each parish church. To the effectuating whereof, he procures a commission from the Earl of Strafford, the Lord Deputy, and Council, to see this pious proposal and exchange, by geometrical proportion, so brought to pass, that the bishopric might have no damage, nor the present lessees any just reason to complain. The commissioners met about it, at Mr. Arthur Cullum's house, in the parish of Kilmore, whereof Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry* was one, whom I and all there present heard say these words; namely, "That he "had told Sir William Parsons, that if all the Jesuits "of the Church of Rome had conspired together to "hinder the propagation of the Gospel in Ulster, they "could not have contrived it more effectually than had "been done in these so inconvenient assignments."

* Afterwards Archbishop of Armagh (1661).

However the matter was brought very near a period, by the general agreement of all persons concerned in the behalf of the bishop (whose highest concern was the propogation of the Gospel in his territories) and of the clergy; and one of them chosen by all (Mr. W— B—), and sent into England with our petition to beg of the king a confirmation of this exchange by a new patent; but the Rebellion prevented his return with it, and marred all that work so well begun, with many other good intentions of this good man and reverend father indeed; whose work is with the Lord, and his reward with his God; who kindly accepts of the goodwill of his servants for the deed, as David in building him a temple. (2 *Sam.* 7.)

He was very exact in the probation, approbation, and ordination of ministers; for he began to examine, according to the Articles of the Church of Ireland (which he always held in his hand till he had done); and after him the Archdeacon, Mr. Thomas Price,* at whose examination, Dr. Bernard, then Dean of Kilmore, saith (in his character of him) he was present in a solemn meeting of the clergy of the diocese for

* Archdeacon of Kilmore, and subsequently Bishop of Kildare (1661) and Archbishop of Cashel (1667). Mr. Price was Junior Fellow of Trin. Coll., Dublin, during the Provostship of Bedell; in which place, probably, he contracted that friendship for the Bishop, which only terminated with the latter's life.

that end, and though he was one of the senior and principal fellows of the College of Dublin, when the Bishop was Provost, yet his indagation and diligent scrutiny of him, took up at least two full hours, and he gave full liberty to any person of the clergy to examine the person to be ordained, who were required also to give their notes for his approbation, and to give imposition of hands with the Bishop, upon the party to be ordained, whether deacon or presbyter, and always preached at the ordination, and administered the sacrament himself.

The order of presbyter he never conferred upon any person under a year, at least, after his first order of deaconship.

He never laid his hands rashly upon any man, to appoint a shepherd without a flock, or without most serious inspection into his qualification, both academical and moral.

He never defiled his heart, nor hands with the least dishonest gain about ordination, or institution, or induction, or anything of that nature; but wrote all those instruments with his own hand, sealing and delivering them to the persons concerned, and charging them not to give any money, upon any pretence whatsoever, to any of his family, lest it should savour of simony; and anathematizing them, if they should proffer any such thing, so contrary to the precept of

our Lord Jesus Christ, *gratis accepistis, gratis date;* upon which account, he had many years before, refused to do, or pay what was unwarrantably demanded, upon the tender of his titles to his parsonage of Horningsheath in England, mentioned before (p. 24).

He would commonly accompany the minister down stairs, and see him take horse on that very account. So that, in this respect, he might humbly (with the man after God's own heart) wash his hands in innocency, and so compass God's altar. Whereas, before in that place, there was so much for the bishop, so much for his wife, so much for the chaplain, so much for the scribe or secretary, and so from the cook and butler to the groom of the stable, and all the rest; so that the minister did not well know how to come so provided as to give content to so many cravers; all which base exactions were to this man of God as vile and detestable as Gehazi's tampering with Naaman the Syrian was to Elisha; nay, as abominable as the chrysargury which Anastasius the Emperor abolished out of the imperial revenues.

As he was careful in setting of men well qualified over the congregations of the Lord, like another Moses, so he had a special eye upon the life and conversation of his clergy, that they might be burning and shining lights amongst the poor blind Irish, and have a pre-eminence above their ignorant and wicked

priests. When one said, in open court, that "*Sagard an Righ*" was as wicked as "*Sagard an Papa*" (*i.e.* the king's priest was as wicked as the Pope's priest), my lord was much troubled.

He did so much concern himself in all his clergy's troubles and difficulties, and adhere unto them against their potent adversaries, as if he had been their natural father indeed; insomuch that when one Mr. Moore, the minister of Manor-Hamilton, had complained unto him, that he had made a disadvantageous bargain out of servile fear with a great person, that held two livings of his, for less than either of them was worth; my lord wrote very christianly unto Sir F. H[amilton] concerning it, to release the poor man from that surprisal; but received not a satisfying, but a proud and unchristian-like answer, for the unjust know no shame. He caused the poor oppressed minister to resign both his livings to him (they belonging to his collation); which he willingly did forthwith, being long oppressed by his own countryman, and the bishop put him into present possession of a better benefice than them both; and presented two able men to the two vacated livings, whereof Mr. John Cunningham was one, who married a daughter of Dr. Craig, a physician of my lord's ancient acquaintance in Venice; who, hearing of his son-in-law of Dr. Bedell, my lord of Kilmore, wrote a large Italian letter to him of

thanks for his great civilities to himself in Venice, and now to his son-in-law in Ireland. Thus he enlarged this poor man, and gôt many a blessing from all that heard of it.

I remember also, when one Mr. Buchanan was recommended unto him, as a person fit for a living newly vacated, by the death of the incumbent, after some theological discourse with him, being satisfied with his capacity of that spiritual promotion; and understanding by his discourse at dinner, that he was related to the great Buchanan, King James his tutor, who is styled by Joseph Scaliger, *Poetarum nostri seculi facilè princeps* (whose paraphrase upon the Psalms my lord delighted in above all Latin poetry), he went into his study after dinner, and drew up his institution, and gave it to him to read (before his oaths were administered unto him, as the manner is); who, finding that he must be sworn to personal and perpetual residence, and that he should hold no other benefices with it, refused to accept of the living upon such terms, unless these words were blotted out: which my lord refusing to do, Mr. Buchanan, having another living that he was loath to leave, went away without this, and it was conferred upon another more worthy.

And here for your satisfaction I will set down the form of all his institutions, which all that ever saw did approve, as most conscientious and evangelical, save that one pluralist.

GUILIELMUS Providentiâ divinâ Kilmorensis Episcopus, dilecto in Christo, A.B., fratri et synpresbytero salutem.

Ad Vicariam perpetuam Ecclesiæ Parochialis de C. nostræ Kilmorensis Diœcesios jam legitimè vacantem, et ad nostram collationem pleno jure spectantem, præstito per te prius juramento de agnoscenda et defendenda Regiæ Magestatis suprema potestate in omnibus causis tam Ecclesiasticis quam civilibus, intra ditiones suas, deque Anglicano ordine, habitu et lingua pro viribus in dictam Parochiam introducendis, juxta formam statutorum hujus Regni; necnon de perpetua et personali residentia tua in Vicaria prædicta, quodque nullum aliud Beneficium Ecclesiasticum una cum ea retinebis: deque Canonica obedientia nobis ac successoribus nostris Episcopis Kilmorens. præstanda, te admittimus, instituimus, et Canonicè investimus: Curamque animarum Parochionarum, ibidem commorantium, tibi committimus, per præsentes. Obtestantes in Domino, et pro obedientia qua summo Pastori teneris injungentes: ut ejus Gregem quem suo sanguine acquisivit, tibi commissum, diligenter pascas, et in Fide Catholica instituas, officia divina lingua à populo intellecta, peragas; exemplar ante omnia teipsum prœbeas fidelibus in bonis operibus, ut erubescant adversarii, nihil habentes quod in te reprehendant. Mandantes insuper dilecto Fratri, Thomæ Archidiacono

Kilmorensi, ut te in realem et actualem possessionem dictæ Vicariæ de C. inducat, cum effectu, in quorum omnium fidem et Testimonium Sigillum nostrum Episcopale Præsentibus apposuimus. Datum Septimo die Maii, anno Salutis, 1640.

GUILIEL. KILMORENSIS.

Not only did he write this still with his own hand, but there was no other instrument or title given to any minister but this, and that *gratis;* he having shaken his hands from holding bribes, as much as Peter himself from the proffer made by Simon Magus, the original of that profitable sin. Whereas now there are to be seen three or four instruments for a small living of ten pounds, and are sold at a very dear rate, both for the buyer and the seller. Yea, more than this, he gave induction also, as I can shew upon the back of an institution thus written with his own hand: *Inductus fuit introscriptus A. C. in realem possessionem ecclesiæ parochialis Dyne* 12 *die Nov.* 1637 *a me.*

Guielmo Kilmorens. Episcopo.

His presentibus.

As if he had studied to keep his clergy without charge, as the apostle his Corinthians.

But yet, though he wrote to aged ministers thus, in primitive style, *fratri et synpresbytero*, with their academical degrees; yet, in all orders of deacon and presbyter, and institutions to young men, he wrote still, *dilecto*

nolus in Christo filio; and kept a register of all his *acta episcopalia,* written with his own hand in Latin, which I wish the world might see, if it hath escaped a deluge.

I know not any person that was permitted to be non resident, save one Mr. Johnson, a man of great reach, whom the Earl of Strafford, the Lord Lieutenant, made his engineer over his great and glorious buildings at the Naas, and at Carnu, and Coshar, in the county of Wicklow. My Lord of Kilmore in discourse upon a time with this Mr. Johnson, finding him to be an ingenious man and of a mercurial wit, though of mechanic education, persuaded him to compose an universal character, to serve in all languages and nations, the conveniency of it being so great, and the thing itself so feasible, seeing we have already universal mathematical characters, as the arithmetical figures, the geometrical, the astronomical of the heavenly planets, and of the twelve signs of the zodiac, &c., which he readily undertook. My lord gave him a platform, which he observed; all the difficulty was about the *syncategoremata.* He styled his books with spell. I heard that some part of it was printed; but the rebellion prevented finishing.

For the better ordering of his clergy, he calls a diocesan synod to meet at the cathedral church of Kilmore.* The text he preached upon was Psalm

* Sept. 19th 1638.

xciii. 5, "*Thy testimonies are very sure; holiness becometh thine house, O Lord, for ever and ever;*" and after sermon administers the sacrament to all his clergy. And because there was much talked of his synod, both far and near, and no small stir about it, by some false brethren of the same order, I will set it down *verbatim*, as being present at it.

Decreta Primæ Synodi Kilmorensis.

In nomine Domini Dei, et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.

Regnante in perpetuum, ac gubernante Ecclesiam suam, eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo, annoque imperii, Serenissimi Principis ac Domini Caroli, Dei gratia, Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ Regis, decimo quarto, cum ad ecclesiam Cathedralem Kilmorensem, monitu Guilielmi Episcopi convenisset Capitulum totius Diœcessios, ad Synodum Diœcessianam celebrandam; post fusas ad Deum preces pro publicâ pace, Regisque et familiæ Regiæ incolumitate, et peractâ sacrâ Synaxi, verba fecit Episcopus de ejusmodi Synodorum, antiquitate, necessitate, et authoritate, et cum venisset in consultationem, quibus rationibus, et fidei sinceritas, et morum sanctitas, et decor Dominus Dei, et ministrorum libertas conservari posset, nihil conducibilius visum est, quam ut ea quæ à Patribus bene ac prudenter antiquitus instituta sunt, quasi postliminii jure revocarentur, atque tractatu inter nos

habito, ad extremum, in hæc capitula unanimiter consensum est.

1. Synodum Diœcessanam sive capitulum quotannis tertia et quarta feria secundæ hebdomadæ mensis Septembris in Ecclesiâ Kilmorensi tenendam, eum diem huic conventui statum, et solennem fore sine ullo mandato; Si res poscat in cæteris ordinationum temporibus Presbyterium contrahi, Episcopi mandatum expectandum.

2. In Episcopi absentia aut morbo, vicarius ejus si Presbyter fuerit, præsidebit, alioqui Archidiaconus qui de jure vicarius est Episcopi.

3. Vicarius episcopi in posterum nullus constituatur, aut confirmetur qui Laicus est, nec quisquam prorsus, nisi durante duntaxat beneplacito.

4. Ut Archidiaconus de triennio, in triennium Diœcesin personaliter visitet, singularum ecclesiarum, Œdiumque mansionalium sarta tecta tueatur, libros et ornamenta in indiculo descriptos habeat, defectus omnes supplendos curet; Episcopalis procurationis dimidium habeat, eo conditione ut Episcopus illo anno non visitet.

5. Ut secundum pristinam, et antiquam hujus Diœceseos Kilmorensis constitutionem, in tribus ejus regionibus, tres Decani sint, ab ipsis ministris ejusdem Decanatus eligendi, qui vitam et mores cleri jugi circumspectione custodiant, et ad episcopum referant,

ejusque mandata accipiant, et quoties opus erit, per apparitorem Decanatus ad compresbyteros suos transmittant.

6. In quovis Decanatu, in oppido ejus principali, conventus, sive capitulum sit ministrorum quolibet saltem mense, ubi lectis plenè publicis prœcibus, concionentur per vices, sine longis precibus et proœmiis.

7. Advocationes ecclesiarum nondum vacantium, quæ ad collationem episcopi spectant, nemini conferantur, aut confirmentur.

8. Possessiones Ecclesiæ non alienentur, aut locentur, contra regni jura, nempe terrarum mensalium nulla sit locatio, nisi quoad Episcopus in sede, aut nitâ supersit, cæterarum in plures annos, quam leges sinunt, aut prioribus locationibus, triennio minus nondum expletis.

9. Ut corpora defunctorum deinceps in ecclesiâ non humentur, sed nec intra quintum pedem à pariete ecclesiæ extrorsum.

10. Ut mulieres in sacrario non sedeant, sed infra cancellos, et quidem à viris secretæ.

11. Ut sacrarium in Consistorium non convertatur, aut sacra mensa Notariis, aut scribis sit pro pluteo.

12. Ne in funeribus, mulieres luctum, aut ullulatum facient.

13. Ut ossa defunctorum in cæmeteriis non coacerventur, sed tradantur sepulturæ.

14. Ut matricula sit, in quam referantur nomina eorum, qui ad sacros ordines admissi sunt, aut instituti, aut admissi ad beneficia, sive curam animarum coaptati; clericorum item parochialium, et Ludimagistorum, neque deinceps ad literas testimoniales in visitationibus exhibendas adigatur.

15. Ne quis minister oblationes ad funera, baptismum, eucharistiam, nuptias, post puerperium, aut portionem canonicam cuiquam locet.

16. Ne quis ejusmodi oblata acerbe exigat, præsertim à pauperibus.

17. Ut fas sit ministro à sacrâ cœnâ repellere eos qui se ingerunt ad synaxin, neque nomina sua pridie Parocho significarunt.

18. Ut pueri saltem à septimo ætatis anno, donec confirmentur per manuum impositionem, stent inter catechumenos, factoqùe catalogo, singulis dominicis certus eorum numerus sistatur in ecclesiâ examinandus.

19. Si quis minister quemquam ex fratribus suis alibi accusaverit, priusquam episcopo denunciet, ab ejus consortio cæteri omnes abstinebunt.

20. Clerici comam ne nutriant, et habitu clericali, prout Synodo Dubliniensi institutum est, incedant.

21. Æconomi Parochiarum provideant, ne in ecclesiâ, tempore cultus divini, pueruli discursent, atquè canes arceantur, constitutis ostiariis, vel mulctâ

impositâ, si quis semel atquè iterum admonitus canem secum in ecclesiam introduxerit.

22. Ut nulla excommunicationis sententia feratur ab uno solo ministro, sed ab episcopo, assistentibus quotquot in Capitulo fuerint præsentes.

Hæc decreta Synodalia, quoniam ex usu hujus Diœcesios futura credimus, et ipsi observabimus, et quantum in nobis est ab aliis observanda curabimus adeoque manus suæ quisque subscriptione corroboremus.

Semtembris 19°. 1638.

All the ministers subscribed to all, save Dr. Faythful Peate, who wrote thus; *Omnibus subscribo præterquam decimo decreto.* And the reason was this, because he had erected a new seat for his wife in the chancel, but a little before, and was loath to remove it.

When the report of this Synod was carried up to Dublin, it was taken so heinously, as if the word or thing had never been known in the Church of God before. The Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Stafford, was made acquainted with it, as if the Bishop of Kilmore had set up a new model and platform of government in the Church: a *præmunire* was the least censure; he must be cited immediately to the High Commission Court, or the Star Chamber, and every minister that was at that Synod. And many such things were upon the tongues of many. Others said, that he had done

nothing against the laws of God, or of the land; whereupon the good bishop studied the defence of what he had done in that Synod, and put it also in writing, that all his adversaries could not gainsay, that if he had been put to it, he might have it in a readiness. All this was made known to the bishop by a faithful friend, Mr. Thomas Price, his archdeacon; who had shewed the State and the Prelates all the transaction of this Synod in writing. Dr. Usher, my Lord Primate of Armagh, thought it most prudent to let him alone that had assembled that Synod, lest peradventure they should find him more able, and ready to defend what he had done than any person whomsoever to oppose him.* So all their threatenings came to nothing, and my Lord of Kilmore heard no more of it; it having been the constant practice of all bishops in the Greek and Latin Churches ever since episcopacy was noted and advanced, by the bounty of the kings of the earth, above presbytery. Many said what Theodosius the emperor said of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, in another case: *Solus Kilmorensis novit se gerere ut Episcopum;* as all the Prelates once said of him before this, in his taking to himself his place of

* "You had better let him alone," calmly observed Archbishop Ussher, "for fear, if he should be provoked, he should say much more for himself than any of his accusers can say against him!" (See Sir James Ware's *Bishops*, i. 236.)

judicature in his own consistory; of which afterwards I shall give you some account also.*

But one word of this Mr. Price, his archdeacon, who was very intimate with him. He married the daughter of Mr. Thomas Dutton, and came over chaplain to the

* As the holding of this Diocesan Synod caused much unpleasant discussion at the time, and as the experiment has not been repeated since by any of his successors in the see of Kilmore, or indeed by any bishop of the National Church (excepting Dr. Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, within a comparatively recent period), I will subjoin Bedell's own apology for his conduct in this matter, which may be found in one of his inedited letters addressed to Abp. Laud, and preserved in the State Paper Office: "Concerning (says he) my bringing into the Castle-Chamber and *Præmunire* for our Diocesan Synode, the bruite is much ceased since men have a little looked on their books. A prelate of great note said to one of my clergy here, If we might hold a Diocesan Synode, why not a Provinciall? and if that, why not a Nationall? The argument indeed is a *minore ad majus*, but affirmative. Yet touching Provincial Synodes, enjoined by canons of y^e^ universal church, allowed by the laws imperiall, and those of other christian countries, practised by y^r^ Gr's. predecessors in England, and by the Archbps. of this kingdome, yea (as I am informed) by y^e^ Popish titular-clergy here this day, I cannot conceive what jealousy of State there should be against them, being sufficiently limited by the act of submission of y^e^ clergy, and subordinated to the Crowne. And if there be any scruple in the law touching the assembling of suffraganes by their Metripolitane, for causes merely ecclesiasticall, his Majesty by his roiall authority declaring his pleasure therein, might (if in his wisdome he should thincke fitt) take away all doubt, and restore the ancient order of the christian church, and bring much ease to his subjects, w^th^out neede of other extravagant courses. These conceptions I humbly submitt to

infantry that came out of Ireland by order from the King, after the Marquis of Ormond had made a cessation of arms with the rebels in '43, as A. C.* with the horse. At the siege of Nantwich he was shot from Acton steeple, near the town, in the right eye; and the bullet (which he shewed me) taken out under his left ear, and yet the body of his eye not destroyed, but darkened. He was advanced to the bishopric of Kildare at the Restoration, and now is Archbishop of Cashel in Connaught.† That defeat before Nantwich was accounted the greatest loss that ever the King sustained, and the greatest victory that ever the

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y^r^ Grace's mature judgment. To retorne to Episcopall Synodes: Among other things, since I came to this place I have mett w^th^ a just treatise *De Synodo Epi.* in that great work of the Tractates of the Dr^s^ printed at Venice in 16 Tomes; it is Tome 2^o^. The author's name is Henricus Botteus; he wrote, as may appear, part 3^a^ No. 74, y^e^ year after Rome was sackt, anno 1527. Amongst others, there are his positions: that such a synode *est de jure divino.* And, *Papa non pōt Epīs auferre potestem faciendi suas synodos. Item, Epūs, non debet potere licentiam ab Archiepō pro congreganda sua synodo. Synodus est praparatorinum ad Visitationem, et quædam Visitatio generalis ce Episcopus omittens convocare Synodum debet puniri suspensione,* etc. And it is very likely that those y^t^ penned o^r^ late canons, or those from whom they were taken, had this in their mindes when they appointed y^t^ y^e^ constitutions lawfully enjoined by y^e^ Bp. of the Dioces in his Visitation, should be observed, &c. But I forget myself, & y^r^ Grace's many employments." (Bedell to Laud, 20 Dec. 1638.)

* Army Chaplain. † See *Antè* p. 53.

Parliament obtained in all their wars. When those forces that had been more than conquerors over their paganish enemies in Ireland, and accounted it their chief joy to be engaged against them, who never durst so much as look upon them one way, but fled into bogs, woods, swamps, many ways before them, no sooner had they set their foot upon their own land, in their native soil, but after they had surprised and taken Harding Castle and Berston Castle, were all of them surprised (Sir Michael Earnly, Sir Fowlk Huntes, Coll. G. Monk, Gibson, Warren, Broughton, L. Ranadlagh's regiments) by letting in the waters upon them, where they could neither fight and stand, nor fall with honor, nor flee with safety, and so were overthrown and taken by meer countrymen (under the conduct of Sir T—— F———, and Sir W—— B————) that had never been bred in such a school of war as those victorious worthies. I remember the speeches of many of the soldiers that were called off from the Irish war (that was not based upon conjectural foundations) to this unnatural one of England: "Why should we leave God, before God leave us?" They came over so unwillingly, and were soon dispersed, and crumbled away to nothing.

But to leave this digression, and to return to my first intention; I have something more to say of my Lord of Kilmore, in reference to his Visitations of his

clergy, which were, and are, twice a-year in all places.

His Visitations were not, as in many places, for the clergy to meet and answer to their names in the nomenclature, and then to exhibit their titles, and ask,—What was to pay? and so away, without any sermon (as now); as in all other secular courts, or monthly meetings of the justices, and leets, wherein yet the stewards do often give excellent exhortations in order to the people's obedience to the laws of God and man, to keep them in peace and love; as the learned judges do also at the assizes twice a year. His visitations were not *ad dominandum, nec ad lucrandum, nec ad epulandum* (as the *Scrutinium Sacerdotale* hath it), but *ad ædificandum,* according to the apostle's rule, "Let all things be done to edification." For he always preached, and administered the sacrament to all his clergy, and to all that were present with them, that desired to participate of that sacred ordinance; and gave heavenly instructions to his clergy and people. As likewise he did constantly preach twice a year at the county town of Cavan, at the general assizes of the county, in his episcopal habit, before the circuit judges; which added great grace to the assembly, and contentment to all.

The procurations (that were but small) he bestowed in defraying the charges of all the ministers' dinners, and the residue he gave to pious uses; as to relieve the

poor Irish malefactors, that were starving in prison. No orders, nor instruments, that had been once exhibited and indorsed, were ever to be called for any more in his time; which hindered much the usual gain of the Consistory-officers of all sorts.

His clergy sat round about him, all robed (when he was so) by his command, and not standing, waiting upon the bishop, or his lay chancellor, bare headed, amongst the plebeian multitude without respect or discrimination, like so many lackeys in the bishop's livery, as now the manner is. He would often mention the old canon (so old that it is forgotten long ago), *sedente episcopo, ne stet presbyter.*

But he that was there before him was chargeable to the clergy in his procurations, exhibitions, and above all, in his refections and epulations; even his menial servants bare rule over the clergy and people, as Nehemiah speaks of those governors that were before him; but so did not he, because of the fear of God; the want of which was so great that the clergy must be assessed, every one according to the value of his living, to pay for their commissions, as if it had been at the interview of Bacchus and Venus, so shamefully excessive were they.

But the change of the ordinary and annual episcopal visitation was nothing to the intolerable abuse and usurpation of the Metropolitan (which was every third

year), called the Triennial Visitation; and of the Regal, which was every seventh year, like a heathenish jubilee; when such a sad train followed the visitors, Dr. Rives and Sing; as followed and accompanied Vitellius, when he advanced towards Rome, after the overthrow of Otho his competitor, as Tacitus gives an account, *calommingeus ruimerus.*

For day and night they gave themselves over to such riot and excesses, as if they had come out of the bottomless pit, or were posting to that visitation: and the poor clergy must pay for all, under pain of suspicion of heresy, or of excommunication; which they carried under their girdle, or had girded about their loins. The refection of twice so many jannissaries had not been so scandalous, nor so chargeable by much; *haud ignota loquor.*

It is a great honour to the bishops of England, and happiness to their clergy, that they are exempted from these sad, if not diabolical, rather than evangelical, visitations, if their Triennials and Septennials were homogeneous to those of Ireland; and whether they continue there or not, I know not these many years.

I remember when Dr. Usher's Metropolitan-Apparitor-General *(speciosa et spaciosa nomina)* served my Lord of Kilmore with the bull of prohibition, that for that year he should exercise no episcopal jurisdiction, &c., that when he read those words in the bull: *Ad*

quos omnis, et omni modo jurisdictio de jure devolvitur; and in those other: *Propter imminens animarum periculum*, &c., that he threw it away out of his hand as a [illegible] cloth, as if he had said unto it: *Get thee hence*, and stampt with his foot, &c. For that year he must act nothing as a bishop, or buy his privilege of those secular merchants at a dear rate, that knew nothing but their dishonest gain; and so in the Regal visitation.

So that the very soul of this righteous man was vexed with the unwarrantable degradations and usurpations of those men, *cœci avaritiâ, queis omnia, atque inhonesta, mos erat.*

But perhaps you may think it somewhat strange that Dr. Usher (of blessed memory), a man so famous in his generation, even to the ends of the earth, whose praise is throughout all the churches, should be so much concerned in all these things and courts, and never once attempt the least redress of the greatest abuse, being the first man named in many courts, as in the Prerogative, the High Commission, the Court of Delegates, as well as in his own Diocesan and Metropolitan. This troubled many worthy persons that honored him much, that he that had so much power and authority committed unto him to do much good, yet in these things of great concernment in church and state, should do nothing at all, which made preaching

to be of little esteem, and to little purpose, but to make the wicked walk on every side, &c.

I have heard my Lord of Kilmore (that loved and honored his person, his preaching, his learned writings, as much as any man that ever knew him) say, that he had often spoken unto him of these intolerable abuses, and many more, but could not prevail with him to do, or meddle with anything in matters of discipline, no, not in his own courts, but take them as he found them, and so leave them worse; but that he referred all these matters ecclesiastical to his officials and surrogates till a time of reformation, which he still looked for. So that, in the meantime, all orderliness and goodness went to wrack, and a leading prelate did what him listed in all these courts of judicature, to the great scandal of the church government, and damage of many, and ripening all for destruction which came upon us, as travail upon a woman with child, and we were not able to escape it, no more than Shilo, for the like abuses, under Eli's two surrogates, Hophni and Phineas, as Jer. vii. 12.

The truth is, my Lord Primate of Armagh gave himself over so much to the search of the Fathers, and all antiquity, and to that apostolic work of praying and preaching the Word, that he had no time scarce once to think of the discipline of the Church, or to regulate anything that was amiss;

though, according to his place and station in the Church, being fixed in its highest orb, as a glorious star, God had required it of him, and put it in his power to redress; therefore, when he came to die, he earnestly besought the Lord to pardon his sins of omission, about things left undone. And this neglect of church discipline was bemoaned by all that knew him, and loved his holy and harmless conversation, and admired his incomparable learning in other things, and indefatigable study. In this point, or dead fly only, beneath himself, in which though more learned, and concerned than any, yet did less than any. The best men, being but men at the best; the speech of his own physician, Dr. Bæotius, a Dutchman, who was also physician to the Earl of Strafford, and a learned man, is very remarkable: *Si Armachanus noster esset tam exactus disciplinator, quam antiquitatis indagator, et veritatis propugnator, et evangilis predicator, procul dubio designari et constitui potuisset, totius orbis Christiani Ecclesiasticus Administrator.**

* One of the most justly-admired passages in Burnet's *Life of Bedell* is that which contains a delineation of the character of Archbishop Usher; which, it will be seen, is little more than a paraphrase of Clogy's language, who, in turn, doubtless, merely repeated the sentiments (if not *ipsissima verba*) of Bedell himself. "No man (writes Burnet) was more sensible of the abuses of the spiritual court than Usher was; no man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them; and together

Thus, having given you some account of the reformation of these great abuses that this good bishop found amongst his clergy; viz., plurality and non-residence, the bane of the clergy and misery of the people, I shall,

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with his great and vast learning, no man had a better soul and a more apostolical mind. In his conversation he expressed the true simplicity of a Christian: for passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature. So that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. He had a way of gaining people's hearts and of touching their consciences, that look'd like somewhat of the apostolical age reviv'd; he spent much of his time in these two best exercises, secret prayer and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his sermons or private discourses; and what remained, he dedicated to his studies, in which those many volumes that came from him, showed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men that the age or perhaps the world has produced. But no man is entirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses: and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and confessed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the canonists had brought in, was such a stain upon a church, that in all other respects was the best reformed in the world, that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But though he prayed for a more favorable conjecture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of those things very heartily; yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on; and it is very likely that this sat heavy on his thoughts when he came to die, for he prayed often and with great humility, that God would forgive him his sins of omission, and

in the next place, set down the reformation of his courts and ecclesiastical consistorys, most falsely styled spiritual, till he came to sit and act there, as he esteemed himself in conscience bound, and in right and equity sufficiently authorised thereunto as a bishop, *hic totum est in corpore vulnus.* The corruption was so great, that he saw nothing in his courts when he entered bishop, but what Solomon saw long before: 'The place of judgment, that wickedness was there; and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there.' And as there was a simoniacal and sacrilegious venality

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his failings in his duty. It was not without great uneasiness to me that I overcome myself so far as to say anything that may seem to diminish the character of so extraordinary a man, who in other things was beyond any man of his time, but in this only he fell beneath himself: and those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him, which was the only alloy that seemed left, and without which he would have been held perhaps in more veneration than was fitting. His physician, Dr. Boetius, that was a Dutchman, said truly of him, 'If our Primate of Armagh were as exact a disciplinarian as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth and preaching the Gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief Churchman of Christendom.' But this was necessary to be told, since history is to be writ impartially, and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his memory a little; for I was never so tempted in any thing that I ever writ to disguise the truth, as upon this occasion: yet, though Bishop Usher did not mind himself, he had a singular esteem for that vigor of mind, which our Bishop expressed in the reforming these matters."

of all holy things in his predecessor's house; so there were manifold extortions in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his courts, as he left them. He found both clergy and people a prey and spoil to a lay-official, or lay-bishop (if ye will) by patent, and none to deliver. He was wearied by continual complaints from all sorts of people. The dreadful sentence of excommunication (both *minor* and *major*), which ought not to be pronounced or denounced without most mature deliberation and highest reverence, as common, and therefore as little regarded and set by, as the dirt of the streets, or as it is called in the Irish tongue, *cvinil-valu*, the extinguishing in water, the blowing out of a candle, a ceremony used by the Church of Rome in their Popish excommunications and interdictions.

He found the officers of all sorts so polluted with bribes and filthiness, that one could not touch their garments; instead of repentance for sin, nothing but impenitency, and commutation of penance for dishonest gain.

Therefore, as a good shepherd ought to do, he resolves to drive away the wolf from his flock, that they might be no more a prey; and sits in judgment with some of his ministers covered on each side of him, with liberty to give their opinion in each case; and when any sentence, whether interlocutory or definitive, was to be given, he asked their opinion and votes, man by

man. Many fees he altogether remitted, and many he reduced: the one to the poor Irish that had little or nothing to pay (specially the poor Irish that were always obnoxious); the other for moderation's sake, avoiding severity and exacting the utmost farthing: in some degree, reducing his episcopal to a synodical government, and more friendly judicature, according to the proposal made by Dr. Usher, Archbishop of Armagh (by way of accommodation), to the Parliament and Assembly of Divines at Westminster, *anno* 1641, a dozen of years before this.

But this practice of his, though never so warrantable in itself, and acceptable to all, both clergy and people, and renowned over all Ireland for the exemplariness of it, yet was not long free from opposition, no more than that good work of Ezra from the accusation of Rehum, the Chancellor, and Shimsay, the Scribe or Registrar. He found the mysterious title given by old Simeon to his Lord and Master, *σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον*, verified in his faithful servant, that begins now to suffer in his cause, and to be persecuted for righteousness sake. For Dr. Allen Cook, the old lay-chancellor and his men, seeing the hope of their gain was like to be cut off by this means, if the bishop were suffered thus to continue as he had begun, to sit and judge in his own courts, that were called in, and by his name, as he had already disappointed them of all their grist from

ordination and institution (he writing all such instruments with his own hand, and giving and bestowing them freely) made head, and conspired all of them together against him, to hinder him in his progress; as Sanballat and Tobiah did against Nehemiah, when they understood that the breaches of the walls of Jerusalem began to be stopt. But this learned and prudent bishop could not be hindered by their murmurings, nor would give way to their usurpations of his episcopal jurisdiction on any terms; as the Bishop of Bath and Wells is reported to have done (out of pusillanimity) to Dr. Duke, his lay-chancellor, when he told his bishop flatly, 'That he had nothing to do to sit there,' and shewed him his pipes. The Bishop of Kilmore thought himself as much obliged by his patent and consecration oath to maintain and assert his episcopal discipline, as well as evangelical and apostolical doctrine.

Whereupon Dr. Allen Cooke, the lay chancellor, commenced a suit in the Chancery against his bishop;*

* Bishop Bedell discovered (says Dr. Elrington, in his *Life of Ussher*, p. 116) "that the patent under which his chancellor acted was invalid, as not having the Bishop's seal, and being defective in other particulars, and inhibited Mr. Cook from acting under it. The chancellor brought the matter into the Primate's Court. The Bishop submitted it to the Primate's decision, but not his Chancellor's, or to the Synod of the province. I cannot find that the cause was tried in the Archbishop's Court: perhaps the difficulty arose from the objec-

who made his just defence so learnedly, and furnished his advocate with such unanswerable arguments (being denied the liberty to plead for himself, which iniquity he took heinously, that a bishop was not allowed to plead for himself) fetcht from all antiquity, since the Christian emperors allowed bishops any jurisdiction over the clergy or laity in the Roman Empire: so that all his adversaries were astonished at his answers and pleadings.

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tion of Bishop Bedell just mentioned, or from a remark in the answer of the Primate, 'In your judging of Mr. Cook's patent to be void, I wish you would not be too forward upon that point. To pronounce in a judicial manner of the validity or invalidity of a patent is no office of the ecclesiastical but of the civil magistrate; and for the one to intromit himself into the judicature of that which pertaineth to another, you know draweth near to a *præmunire*.' At a subsequent period the cause was brought into the Court of Chancery, and the Lord Chancellor confirmed Mr. Cook's appointment, with £100 costs. The details of these transactions are not given in any of the Lives of Archbishop of Ussher, and the Lives of Bishop Bedell are not arranged correctly. Bishop Burnet, and he is followed by Mr. Mason, places the trial in the Court of Chancery, before the discovery that the patent was illegal. Now this is certainly not the case, for the suspension of Mr. Cook and the trial in the Archbishop's Court are mentioned in the letters written in the end of the year 1629. But a disgraceful story, related by the son-in-law of Bishop Bedell, fixes the date of the trial after the appointement of Chancellor Bolton in 1639." A copy of Bedell's "Petition to the King in Chancery" is preserved in H. M. State Paper Office; where also may be seen some other inedited documents relating to the same unhappy business.

He wondered that he should not be allowed to discharge that trust that was reposed in him; that one half of his episcopal office should be alienated and usurped by a mercenary hireling, that came not but for to spoil and to destroy, he (the bishop) being bound by his consecration and inviolable oath to rule, as well as to feed, his flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made him *episcopum*. That this his practice should seem new and strange, which is the practice of all the Reformed Churches that have bishops without lay-chancellors, to exercise a lawless and arbitrary dominion over them (as well as without them) over the clergy and laity. Bishop Jewel sat often with his chancellor, and was president in his own consistory that his episcopal care might reach his jurisdiction in his court as well as in his pulpit.

The titular bishops that are set over the popish party in Ireland by the Bishop of Rome, by indulgence and permission, exercise jurisdiction in private over the Irish; and strange that a protestant bishop should be denied the same power in public that holds it by patent from the king.

Many copies of his pleadings (it being a rare and singular case never disputed there before) were taken and sent into England, as well as through all Ireland. And albeit all the prelates wisht him good success, that knew what belonged to their office and episcopal

dignity, and owned him at first as their only champion against their despoylers, and told him that they were but *semi-episcopi*, half-bishops, homonymously so called, or men titulars in that respect, or scarce so much; and that they would stand by him, and adhere unto him, to the uttermost of their power. But when it came to the push, they all forsook him, like a deceitful bow; and left him to stand or fall to his own master; which redounded much to their dishonor, to leave their leader in the field alone, fighting for them all against many enemies. I pray God (with Paul) that it be not laid to their charge: notwithstanding the Lord assisted him and strengthened him; for none else did, or durst take his part, because of his potent adversaries, and the great opposition that was made unto him by the whole family of lay-chancellors and their adherents.

So that notwithstanding all that this holy and truly learned bishop could say or do for himself, either by himself or others, he is unjustly cast and fined to pay a hundred pounds charges to Dr Cooke, that plaintiff and Chancellor. One of the greatest reasons why the Lord Chancellor Bolton gave adverse judgment against him was this: when my Lord of Kilmore asked his lordship afterwards, why he was overthrown, having the better cause, his answer was (which my lord had from his own mouth): 'All that my father left me was a registrar's place; and therefore he would maintain

the alienation and exercise of all consistorial offices.* This I had from the bishop's mouth.*

But notwithstanding the decree in Chancery against him, to divest him of the life and soul of his episcopal dignity and authority, his presidency and over-ruling power in his own courts, and to leave him only a half-bishop, or titular, as the popish prelates were, whether by secret advice, from some eminent statesmen (as was supposed) that much approved his cause and valiant resolution, in the just defence of his episcopal dignity and jurisdiction, and in rescuing and delivering his flock from tyranny and oppression; or by the powerful conviction of the conscience of his adversary, Dr. Cooke, that might justly be ashamed of his ill-acquired victory, I know not (though both might be true); but this I know, that this holy man of God, sat

* Dr. Elrington, in his *Life of Ussher*, (see preceding note, p. 80), would appear to doubt the authenticity of this disgraceful story, simply because it is referred to Sir Richard Bolton, who was not appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland until the year 1639; and before whose term of office, therefore, the Chancery proceedings in question were determined. Our biographer here, however, emphatically states that he received his facts from Bishop Bedell's own mouth. Seeing that fully 30 years had elapsed before Mr. Clogy committed the story to paper, it is very possible that he may have confounded the name of the last Lord Chancellor, who presided in Ireland during his (Clogy's) sojourn there, with that of Sir Adam Loftus (whose rapacity was proverbial,) by whom the cause was tried.

in his own consistory ever hereafter, without any opposition; and that Dr. Cooke never offered to interrupt him in the least, nor ever demanded the hundredth wherein the bishop was condemned for his charges; but did delegate his power and interest as chancellor to an Irish gentleman, one Mr. Ash as his surrogate, and to Patrick Coddan as registrar, who observed my Lord of Kilmore in all his orders and proceedings in his courts, with all reverend respects, till the rebellion suspended all courts, and the bloody sword determined all petty controversies.

And albeit their gain was not half so much as formerly it had been (when one was put into the court for three-pence worth of tythe-turf, a fuel much used in Ireland, and it cost five pound ere he could get off); yet they seemed contented with what they could catch; so that the bishop did freely and conscientiously what he had done aforetime, as it is said of Daniel in another case, and that was pleasing to God ("for to him that knoweth to do good, and doth it not, to him it is sin," saith St. James), and profitable to good and bad that had present hearing and sudden despatch of all matters that came within the cognizance of that court, whether decimal, testamental, or matrimonial, or things presentable by the articles of inquisition, and punishable in the court, by far less mulcts and amercements than ever before. So that the consistory that

was looked upon as a common nuisance, was in his days esteemed a sanctuary for the poor and needy, so that by his lenity and moderations many priests and friars that were still brought in for fornication, or adultery, were prevailed with to renounce their uncleanness, and to have good thoughts of the reformed religion, that had appointed unto mankind an antidote against all filthiness of flesh and spirit, by holy and honorable marriage, as the Bishop often told them in court; and several of them were converted from Popery, and did marry, as I shall shew hereafter more at large.

Whilst I am writing this, it comes into my mind that in the year 1646, I met with Dr. Cooke, by chance in London, who spake as reverently of my Lord of Kilmore as any could do, and said, he thought there had not been such a man upon the face of the earth till he tried him; and that he was too hard for all the civilians in Ireland; and had he not been borne down by mere force, he had undoubtedly overthrown all the Consistory Courts by lay Chancellors, and restored to all the Bishops their several jurisdictions. He seemed to me to bemoan his death; and was courteous and respectful to me for his sake. And I saw him no more.

Having briefly, but truly shewn you what course this good, evangelical, and primitive Bishop took at

his entrance upon his new office, to reform his clergy and Consistory Courts, it remains, in the next place, that ye take a view also of the course he took for the reformation of the Irish people, and reducing them from the darkness of Popery to God's marvellous light in the Gospel; of which the English and Irish State had been very neglective ever since the Reformation. For which iniquity, and omission of duty (by God's just indignation) they have often sadly smarted, and have seen the destruction of all their pleasant and profitable plantations, once in forty years, with the blood of vast multitudes of innocent people, in all their barbarous massacres and unparalelled cruelties; wherof there are many records and living witnesses at this day in all these three kingdoms, that are mutually concerned in the welfare of each other, and sadly bewail the neglect of their reformation.

And although Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, *anno* 1361, made laws for the civilizing of the Irish in speech and apparel, yet they never took effect, but as they were, *asperi incultique quels cibus erat caro farina, lac, atque humi pabulum, uti precoribus, nulla ædificia, nisi mapalia, et tuguria, Religio nulla, superstitio multa,* &c. So they continue at this day, without civility, without God, without Christ, being alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, as much as from the commonwealth of England,

through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart.

Therefore unto this day they do after their former manners, being still lockt up and kept in the dungeon of ignorance by their idolatrous priests, that know not the Lord any more than the sons of Eli, or the priests of Baal that Elijah destroyed for seducing and deceiving the people; but by a little Latin-service (which many of themselves cannot construe, as knowing nothing but their Portuse or Breviary, as I have often tried) and absolute dominion over their persons and consciences, and over all they have; and perpetual and promiscuous uncleanness (which they esteem a venial sin, a small matter, and make no more of than the washing of one's hands), having taken away the key of knowledge, they are taken captives by them at their pleasure; so they that lead them cause them to err, and readily to do whatsoever they command, and they that are led by them are destroyed with them. This is a lamentation and shall be for a lamentation to all succeeding generations, as it hath been to all former, that the Irish are destroyed for lack of knowledge, and we destroyed by them, for rejoicing to have it so.

For this noble and high attempt of my Lord of Kilmore, to reduce them from their evil ways of ignorance and superstition, met with greater opposition than all his former attempts for the reforming of his clergy and courts, as I shall shew you anon.

In the first place, he engages all his clergy to keep an English school, or to cause it to be kept, in all their respective parishes (in some of which there was not one protestant, because there was not one of a thousand, that could either read or write) for the education of their children; and to this end he printed in Dublin, *anno* 1631, a small catechism of one sheet, called the A. B. C., or the Institution of a Christian; wherein is the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and some select portions of Scripture, containing the sum of the Gospel, as namely, Gal. iii. 10, 11, 12, 13. John iii. 16, 17, 18, 19. 2 Cor. v. 19, 20, 21. Acts xiii. 38: For the poor people never heard anything of Jesus Christ and his merits, but always the fabulous merits of former saints, and of their own good works sounding in their ears to make their priests lords of all. Some short prayers also of Scripture sentences, for they know not what belonged to prayer, but to make aver, upon their heads, *Ave-Marias* and *Pater-Nosters* innumerable (whosoever were present), with as little reverence and devotion as understanding and profit: And some short 'graces' before and after meat, for the Irish never did crave a blessing, nor return any thanks after meat, any more than beasts; only if a priest or friar be present, he saith *Benedicite, et benedicamus Domino*, and mutters over his *Pater-noster* in his throat, more like a conjuror

than a praying Christian. And that is all of this short catalogue: One page is English, the other Irish.*

This he sent abroad throughout all the diocese, which, by God's blessing, was like to do abundance of good for the poor ignorant creatures, began to hear somewhat of God in their own language,† and to learn their Creed, the Lord's Prayer, &c., in their own tongue; which they never could say before, for they were never taught. I have seen many of them express as much joy at the reading of a psalm, or of a chapter in the New Testament, in the Irish tongue, as was discovered by the people of the captivity, when Ezra read the Law unto them (Neh. viii.), or our progenitors did in the days of Henry VIII., when they would go many miles to hear a chapter read in the English tongue.

The next thing he goes about for their reformation, is to persuade some of their learnedest priests and

* There is a copy of this extremely rare tract in the British Museum: The whole consists of eight leaves.

† Dr. Reid, in his *History of the Presbyterians*, states, that it was Bedell who proposed in Convocation (1634) the xcivth Canon, which was to the following effect: "Where all or the most part of the people are Irish, they shall provide also the said books (viz., the Bible and Common Prayer-book) in the Irish tongue, so soon as they may be had. The charge of these Irish books being to be borne also wholly by the parish." This admirable canon was no where enforced, except in the diocese of Kilmore.

friars, that were bred in the Popish seminaries beyond sea, to forsake Popery and be converted; for he had a convent of them not far from Kilmore. He desires them to put in writing what they could say for their own way of religion, or against our's; which they did, and made open recantation in the Church of Kilmore, on the Lord's day, and abjured all parts and pendicles of Popery from head to foot. And by these means he thought and hoped to prevail over the ignorance of the elder sort of people, when they were instructed in the ways of God, by men of their own; though many of them knew as little of the true God, and of the truth of God contained in the Scriptures, as the Indians do at this day, and the most part of their idolatrous priests, as the Pawnees of America.

To one of many Irish converts, I will set down this one letter, being one of the least, written to one of the learnedest of them, in a most convincing and winning style, as always his manner was.

Guilielmus Kilmorensis. Ecclesiæ minister dilecto fratri Cornelio Sheridin, Salutem in Christo Jesu.

De tua cum Dalio liticulâ scripseram ad Dionisium nostrum ante acceptas literas illius, et tuas, quid mihi ex æquo, et bono constituendum videretur. Itaque venio ad expediendas dubitationes tuas, Quæ tantum abest ut mihi fuerint ingratæ, ut nihil potuerit mihi à te gratius accidere, nam et tui officii puto, nihil temerè

in negotio Religionis statuere, et mei studio tuo non deesse.

Movet te quod ait Dominus Mat. x. 42. Quicunque potum dederit uni ex minimis istis calicem aquæ frigidæ tantum in nomine discipuli, Amen dico vobis non perdet mercedem suam; ex quo sic arguis, Opus mercede dignum est meritorium. Sic n. inverto Propositionem tuam, ne conclusio sit affirmata in secunda figura. Assumis, Atq' opus nostrum est dignum mercede, et quidem æternâ, ergo, &c. Ego vero tuam Assumptionem pernego, et valde miror, si ex insitâ dignitate, calicem aquæ frigidæ, datum alicui ex Christi discipulis expendas ut condignum videri possit ad vitam æternam (quam gratuito Dei dono ascribit Apostolus, Rom. vi. 23) et ad eam gloriam, ad quam, passiones hujus temporis, condignas esse negat, Cap. viii. 18.

Sed instas, claram Assumptionem videri ex ipsis verbis Domini mercedem suam (perinde ac si sensus esset) mercedem æternam, quâ dignus est. Sed fallit te σχημα λεξεως et quidem dupliciter.

Nam, merces, hic et alibi ferè, per metaphoram, pro præmio ponitur, quod non semper ex operis dignitate, aut operantis merito, sed quandoq' ex liberalitate remunerantis confertur; Id tametsi satis expressi Apostolus explicat, Rom. iv. 4, cum ait ei qui operatur mercedem non imputari secundum gratiam. At multo clarius Salvator in parabolâ operariorum conductorum

ad laborandum in vinea, Math. xx. 15, ubi Pater familias inducitur, mercedes ipsas, non ex operis valore, sed ex bonitate beneplacitis, et arbitrii sui, conductis distribuens. Talis est merces, sive præmium calicis aquæ frigidæ. Hoc primum. Alterum est quod suam pro eo quod esset sibi dandam, et quâ dignus est, quasi sibi debitam, interpretari videris.

Quero ex te, quum in oratione Dominicâ, dicimus, Panem nostrum da nobis—sensus sit, Quo digni sumus, an vero, qui te donante, fiat noster? Similiter cum Dominus de aucupantibus humanam laudem ex bono opere testator, Amen dico vobis receperunt mercedem suam, utrum ita intellexerit, quâ digni sunt, an quam ambiebant, captabant, et quâ, majorem non impetrabunt.

Clarum est ergo, tum ex verbis Domini, tum ex rebus ipsis, si nempe haustus aquæ frigidæ, cum jure bibendi ex flumine vitæ conferatur (quod gratis donari S. Sanctus testatur, Apoc. xxii. 26, et xxii. 17) mercedem, non ex dignitate operis, aut operantis, sed ex liberalitate donantis assignari.

Secunda dubitatio tua oritur ex eo quod Calvinus (ut ais) in suis Institutionibus asserit, opera nostra damnabilia, et peccata mortalia esse. Hoc ita simpliciter à Calvino positum non reperio. Sed ita, Quicquid à justis optimum proferri potest, aliquâ tamen semper carnis impuritate respersum et corruptum esse, et tanquam aliquid æris admixtum habere—et si in se censeatur, justum opprobrii mercedem mereri.

Nullum unquam extitisse pii hominis opus, quod si severo Dei judicio examinaretur, non esset damnabile. Hæc Calvini placita sunt. Et quod puto, me tibi olim ostendisse, Augustini, cujus illa vox est væ etiam laudabiles hominum vitæ, si remotâ misericordiâ Dei, discutias eam, Quidi, quod Job? cap. ix. 28; xxx. 31, 32. Davidis Psal. xxxii. 2 et cxliii. 2. Isaiæ lxiv. 6. Danielis ix. 18. Pauli Phil. iv. 9. Hæc tu sanctorum, hæ oracula S. Sancti considera per otium, et confer inter se.

Ego ad ea pergo quæ supersunt in Epistolâ tuâ; Addis eundem Calvinum asserere, nos solâ fide salvari, ex quo tibi sequi videtur, nos per peccatum mortale justificari.

Hoc etiam quod Calvino imponis, nos solâ fide salvari, vix credo apud eum reperiri; nam utcunq' Apostolum dicentem meminerit, Gratiâ estis servati; per fidem—non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur, Eph. ii. 8, 9. Non tamen nesciebat, ab eodem Apostolo dictum, Spe salvi facti Sumus, Rom. viii. 24, et alibi, non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum misericordiam suam salvos nos fecit, per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis S. Santi, Tit. iii. 5, et a Jacabo, Quid proderit fratres mei, si fidem quis dicat si habere opera autem non habeat, nunquid poterit fides salvare eum. Jac. ii. 14.

Non puto Calvinum latuisse hæc, sed nec, non æqui-

pollere, solâ fide justificamur, et solâ fide salvamur; verum illud hic premis, quod videtur consequens ex dictis Calvini: Nos per peccatum mortale justificari, quoniam Fides opus est nostrum, operatio nempe intellectus.

Primum non in eo tibi assentior, quod fides quæ justificat, sit opus sive operatio intellectus. Informis quidem illa (quam Scholastici vocant) fides, qualis est Demonum, est in intellectu. Sed formata, quam describit Augustinus, Credendo Deum amare, credendo in Deum ire, credendo ei adherere, et in ejus membris incorporari, non est intellectus operatio, sed cordis et voluntatis, atq' per hanc justificatur impius, non tamen pro ut est opus, sive operatio nostra, sed pro ut est instrumentum Christum apprehendens, per quem adheremus Deo.

Apertius dicam, non quiavilla fides, nos facit usq' quaq' perfectos, sanctos, justos, dignos amore Dei, sed quia accipit et amplectitu Christum, qui à Deo factus est nobis justitia, in eum credentes, justi censemur, non fidei nostræ opere: Hæc fides in eum recumbit, ei adhæret, ideo per eam fidem justificamur, hoc est pro justis in judicio Dei censenuer.

Nunquam vero hic actus est peccatum mortale, nunquam hoc Calvino venit in mentem, est n. ipsa conditio novi fœderis, Crede in Dominum Jesum Christum et salvas eris. Act. xvi. 31.

Sed si ex lege, et semota gratiâ discuteretur, non

usq' quaq' responderet illi regulæ, Diliges Dominum Deum tuum, ex toto corde, animâ, viribus, ut gratiâ, et miserecordiâ divinâ, semper opus sit, sicut ait Apostolus, Gratiâ, salvi facti estis per fidem.

Aliud est affirmare simpliciter, aliud ex hypothesi: Auferam hinc vestrorum invidiam, et nostrorum interpretamentorum fidicula, Hoc dicit Calvinus ad summam. Opera nostra quantumlibet perfecta, impura et damnabilia fore, si ex lege Dei, semotâ misericordiâ estimarentur.

In novo fœdere, gratiâ divinâ, nos, fide, ut instrumento justificari, cujus actus, si ex vetere fœdere operum examinaretur, esset aliquâ circumstantiâ vitiosus.

Hæc vero tibi ad difficultates istas expendendas, et expendiendas, eo fusius rescripsi, quod magni momenti sit ista questio, de justificatione, et in quâ cardo totius salutis nostræ vertitur, insuper paratus, si opus erit, si quis adhuc restet alicubi scrupulus, aut in hæc controversiâ, aut aliis, operam navare.

Quod superest, Dominum oro, ut tibi intellectum in omnibus, ejus gratiæ te examino commendo.

Tuus in Christo,

Kilmoræ Julii 26°. Guil. Kilmorensis.

1636.

To my loving brother Mr. Cohonaght O'Sheridin deliver these.*

* Mr. O'Sheridin was brother to the titular Bishop of Kilmore.

This learned epistle had the desired effect, which many such like had; and the party reclaimed, by God's blessing, became a zealous convert. To encourage those Irish converts herein, he gave them preferment according to their several respective capacities; to some he gave livings *cum cura animarum;* some he made curates to aged and weak ministers, school masters, parish clerks, &c.

Amongst other converts, there was a learned friar called Daniel O'Creane, on whom the bishop had bestowed a good living, there not being one Protestant in the whole parish; he married a daughter of Captain Perkins, and did much good; and did turn many away from Popish iniquity, and did not fall away upon the Rebellion, as many hypocrites and false converts did, but stood out manfully against all violence, and spoil, and terror, and escaped to Dublin at length, naked and bare; and the first money that God sent him, he laid out for an English Bible (as I did see), in Mr. Bladen's shop, when he had no place where to lay his head, nor relief for his body, but eleemosinary.

Yea, I did not know, nor hear of any that were converted and promoted by my Lord of Kilmore to any ecclesiastical function that turned apostate and persecutors of the Christians, save one P. Brady, a minister, one of the first murderers that appeared in the day of our calamity; who afterwards received the

wages of his apostacy, being slain in his sin, by our forces at Butler's Bridge, in the parish of Cavan; whose ministers' goods he had plundered the very first day of the rebellion, near that place where he fell.

Now when this indulgence of my Lord of Kilmore to get Irish natives, in preferring and encouraging of them to the ministry, was noised abroad, the bishop was secretly checkt by some statesmen, as if he only had acted contrary to the English interest and policy all this while, by his endeavouring to make the conquered and enslaved Irish capable of preferment in Church and State, which was the portion of the conqueror, and not of the conquered and depressed Irish natives which no man did ever so much as once attempt before his lordship.

He said, it was an ill principle of policy and carnal interest to have the Irish still hood-winked in ignorance, which would be bitterness in the latter end; and that it would prove far better policy, and advance the English interest more than ever hereafter, to bring the Irish to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, which would please God far better, and prove a greater security for the present and the future, against all hostile attempts, founded merely upon ignorance and blind obedience; and that being sent to seek the things of Jesus Christ, he esteemed this to belong to his care, to co-operate with Christ in bringing his people out of

the Romish captivity: And if to help a poor captive out of Turkey hath been honorable to some public ministers, what should it be to help, to the encouraging of many thousands, out of the bondage of man's traditions, and gaining to his Majesty so many entire subjects, as he expresseth in his exhortation to the Lord Deputy, in his excellent sermon upon Rev. xviii. 4.* However, his reply did not please them, no more than their speech did him, though ere long the wisest of them found the sad effects of it, to the loss of themselves as well as of their earthly interest and carnal policy, which proved to us, like that wisdom that descended not from above, as St. James speaks, cap. iii. 15.†

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* See Dr. Nicholas Bernard's *Certain Discourses; viz., of Babylon being the present See of Rome, with a Sermon of Bp. Bedell's on the same words.* Lond. 1659.

† The Rev. Dr. John Richardson, Rector of Belturbet, Cavan, in his *History of the Attempts to convert the Natives of Ireland* (8vo. Lond. 1712) gives the following summary of Bishop Bedell's labors in that behalf: "Before Dr. Bedell went to Ireland, he was for the apostolical way of converting the natives. And from one of his letters to Primate Usher, it appears, that when he was Provost of the College of Dublin, he made some steps towards setting it on foot: For there is mention made in one of his letters, of an Irish lecture in that society, to which it is very probable he gave encouragement. [See the MS. *Register*, p. 15, for confirmation of this.] But when he was promoted to the Bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh, he shewed in earnest, how much he had this charitable work at heart: For he applied himself to it with so much zeal and diligence, and used such fit and proper means for

One proud and graceless P[riest ?], that endeavored to do as much hurt and mischief as this servant of God studied to do good, in his time and place, looked down steadfastly with derision upon my Lord of Kilmore's ~~field~~ feet, and being asked, why he did so? said, 'That he was seeing whether my Lord of

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accomplishing it, that from the success which he had, it is to be presumed, it would have taken great effect throughout the Kingdom, if the same had been universally used. He learned the Irish tongue himself, and came to such a degree of knowledge in it, as to be able to compose an Irish grammar, and to correct the translation of the Old Testament into that language, which he got done, the New Testament and Common Prayer-book being already translated into Irish. 'He made a short Catechism to be published, having English on the one page, and Irish on the other, together with some forms of Prayer, and some of the most instructing and edifying passages of Scripture, and some of St. Chrysostom and Leo's Homilies, and distributed it all over his diocese'; and it was so well received by many of the natives, that it gave grounds of hope that further endeavours of this kind would not be vain and fruitless.

The necessary books being provided, the next thing to be done, was to get fit persons to make use of them; and in this he was very active and industrious. He observed that the Irish had been too much neglected by the English, and that due care had not been taken to propagate religion and civility among them; and therefore he failed not to acquaint some great persons about Court with the true state of affairs, that so they might be induced to endeavour to get the proper remedies applied, or give way to the doing of it. The most effectual method for performing this, was, to fill the Church with clergymen able to preach to the Irish in their own language, which he looked upon as an absolutely necessary qualification in every minister to be employed

Kilmore wore brogues or no'; thus profanely jeering his christian affection and compassion towards the poor Irish, that no man sought after, as he did; whose feet were shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, and thereby made so beautiful upon the Irish mountains, in bringing good tidings of good things,

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under him, whose two dioceses were almost wholly inhabited by natives: and therefore he rejected many for want of it. One would think, that the indispensable obligations that the clergy lie under, to perform the offices of religion to their people in a known tongue, might have prevented any opposition from Protestants, or at least have stopped the mouths of gainsayers. But, nevertheless, this necessary and commendable practice rais'd a great storm against that good man, and was the occasion of much trouble and uneasiness to him, many looking upon it as an imposition, which they were not obliged to bear: However, he knew that the natives were not to be converted otherwise, than by applying to them in a language which they understood; and therefore, in his collations, he obliged every minister to perform divine offices in a tongue understood by the people.

And that this pious and charitable work might go on more effectually, he encouraged the clergy to undertake it by his own example: For (as I have already mentioned) he set himself to learn the Irish tongue, which is a great endearment to that people, it being taken as a great compliment by the natives to speak to them in their own language. He conferred frequently with them, and especially with their priests and friars. He had the Common Prayer read every Sunday in Irish in his own cathedral. He took great pains to give those whom he endeavoured to convert, a true sense of religion, so they might be proselytes indeed; and he succeeded according to expectation, for of the most remarkable of his converts, only one relapsed in the Rebellion of 1641. And when he had grounds to believe, that any one's con-

and publishing salvation unto them, by the holy Scriptures, to be read and understood in their own language, as you shall hear.

For the more vigorous and effectual carrying on of all those pious and honorable overtures and intentions, he resolves upon the translation of the Old Testament into Irish, the New Testament being translated by Dr. Donelin, Archbishop of Tuam, in the province of Munster* (whose brother, Judge Donelin, was a worthy

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version was real and sincere, he failed not to make such temporal provision for him as was proper, or as he conveniently could. And it may be presumed, that according to the good practice of this wise and learned prelate, it would contribute somewhat towards reclaiming the natives from their errors, if such as come over to our Church from the Romish communion, were encouraged according to their several circumstances and merits. * * * *

These were the methods used by this great man in converting the Irish natives; and the most gracious and merciful God (who seldom fails to prosper those, who observe His own directions) was pleased to help them with success: For he prevailed even with several priests and friars to become Protestants, and employed them to convert others."

* The Bishop of Ossory "commenced a translation of the New Testament, but, having been prevented from finishing it, by his being prematurely murdered, by one Dullard, against whom he had issued a process of adultery, it was continued by Nehemiah Donellan, Archbishop of Tuam, assisted by Mr. Kearney, and completed by William Daniel, or O'Donnell, who was afterwards the successor of Donellan in that see. This translation was published A.D. 1602, at the expense of the province of Connaught, and of Sir William Ussher, the clerk of the council." (Mason. p. 284.)

statesman, and loved my Lord of Kilmore much upon that account, of his desire of the salvation of the Irish), the Common Prayer-book also being printed in Irish by Sir William Usher, at the bridge-foot of Dublin.*

He communicates his purpose to many persons of quality, in Church and State, and by the advice of the princes of the Irish nation, that is to say, of Dr. Usher, primate of Armagh, Dr. Martin, bishop of Meath, my Lord Dillon, one of the Privy Council, Sir James Ware, Sir Morris Eustace, Sir William Usher, and others: There is one Murtach King, an Irish native, commended unto him for his noble enterprise; who was fully master of that language, both in prose and metre, by the testimony and approbation of all that knew him; and he had a good estate in the King's County, with his wife and family (I have been in his house). He was a convert in King James' time, having been a priest formerly, as Hiram of Tyre was employed by Solomon about all the Temple work, though a heathen before.

My Lord of Kilmore sent for him, publicly examined him in all points of the Christian faith in the cathedral church of Kilmore; and although he had no academical accomplishments, yet was famed to do good above

* This book was also translated by Daniel, Archbishop of Tuam, and printed in the year 1609 at his expense.

many that have those additional ornaments to little purpose. He ordained him, being about seventy years of age. He conferred upon him the benefice of Templeport for his accessory maintenance in this great affair; and so with prayer and supplication to God, the Author of the Scriptures, for a blessing upon his labours, set him a-work, confining him to the last translation of the English Bible (read in all churches), into the plainest Irish and most understood of the vulgar.

It being as agreeable to the mind of God, that the poor blind Irish should search the Scriptures (as others), that in them they might find the way that leads to everlasting life, which they could never do while the Scriptures remained a sealed book unto them, being a very numerous nation that speak Irish, besides the greater half of Scotland, specially the northern parts, and all those Islands that lie in the Irish Sea, called Hebrides, and many of the Orcades also, that lie in the German Sea. This brings to my mind a passage of Fulgentio preaching at St. Mark's in Venice, before the Prince and State, against the Pope, Paul the fifth, in the time of the Interdict, upon these words of Christ, Mat. xxi. 42., "'Have ye never read?" When Christ (saith he) shall ask you this question at the great day, "have ye never read?" what must we all answer? even this, No, Lord, *quia non sic permisso:*

For we were never permitted to read the Scriptures, but prohibited the use of them under highest penalties.'

This I received from my Lord of Kilmore that heard it spoken with great zeal, and fervency of spirit, with much more of that nature against keeping the people in blindness; without the knowledge of the Scriptures, which thing alone perched the Pope and his followers to that height of dominion to which they have arrived.

Therefore this good work was begun, continued, and ended to the glory of God, without any interruption, or noise of hammer, as in the building of the first temple; and the whole Old Testament, with the Apocryphal books, translated into pure Irish; but the translator afterwards [was] exceedingly troubled, and my Lord of Kilmore for undertaking his first defence, as I shall also show you.

That my Lord of Kilmore might carry out this great work with the greater judgment, lest it might seem strange to any that he should show himself so eager in adventuring upon a work that no man did before him, as to translate the Scriptures in a language that he understood not; for the preventing of which objection, he gave himself as earnestly to learn the Irish tongue in Kilmore, where his calling lay, as he had done formerly to learn the Italian tongue, when his calling lay in Venice: And he esteemed himself as much (if not more) concerned in this, as in that;

and, indeed, he made a progress, beyond all expectation, in a very short time; insomuch that he became a critic in the Irish tongue, and wrote a completer Irish grammar than was extant before him: and delighted so much in the acquisition of that tongue (though he could never speak it, but read it, write it, and translate it into English, as Hierome, in his old age, learned the Chaldean tongue so that he could *legere et intelligere, sed not sonare,* as he speaks, *Ep)* that every Lord's day, at one of the clock in the afternoon, he had the book of Common-prayer read in the Irish tongue in the Church of Kilmore, for the benefit of those he had brought from Popery, but understood not the English tongue (a deacon, one Owen O'Sheridyne was the reader), at which he was constantly present himself.

And for the better fitting of the copy of the Irish translation for the people, he never rose from the table after dinner or supper till he had examined a sheet, and compared it with the original Hebrew, and the seventy-two interpreters, or Diodati his Italian translation (which he prized very much). His manner was this: his son Ambrose did usually read a chapter in English, my lord having one copy of the Irish translation, and A[lexander] C[logy] another. After this, he read the first verse out of Irish into Latin, and A. C. the second, and so to the end; and where was

found any mistake of the English phrase, or emphasis, by the translator, my lord did immediately correct it in his copy, and A. C. in his.

Now these things begat a great interest in the Irish nation, as if he had been the first, and only man that ever God sent out of England to seek their national good; yea their spiritual and eternal welfare, and began to prefer him before St. Patrick, and call him their patron and patriarch.

But what good thing did ever escape the opposition of wicked men (or the scourge of the tongue) that was attempted by angels, or good men? It grieved some Jesuited persons exceedingly, that there was a man come to seek the welfare of that captive people, and began to frame false surmises, and raise sinister reports of the work itself, as well as of Murtach King, the principal translator, as if they had put on the zeal of Saul against the proselyte Gibeonites, or of Sanballat and Tobiah against the returned Jews: They incense the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Strafford, against the work; and, what they could not effect by him, they endeavour by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose letters to the Lord Lieutenant they procure, to that purpose, that they might cause the work to cease (that was made fit for the press, and come to the birth, the stamps being sent for into Holland, and all things made now ready for the carrying on so good a work,

merely upon my lord's own charge, and at his own house), and to my Lord of Kilmore also, to the same end and purpose.

They inform against Mr. King, the translator, that he is a person so inconsiderable in the world, &c., that nothing of his can be worthy of public use in the Church of God, and some such other things; whereupon they suborne a bold and ambitious young man, that with others occasioned those surmizes, to pretend a lapse to the king of his living of Templeport, and obtains it under the broad seal; and comes posting down from Dublin, and takes violent possession: For it was usual in those days for any presumptuous or worthless person to beg any minister's living that was aged or sickly, or had a good parsonage, and to procure the broad seal, and the possessor *malæ fidei*, the fraudulent intruder and the incumbent to strive for it, or make a shameful composition: Yea, sometimes when the person injured did present himself before the Court of Judicature, it was scarce believed that he was alive (but some *spectum* in his name), whose living was bestowed *ecclesiâ plenâ*, as David did rashly confer Mephibosheth's living upon Ziba, by false information (2 Sam. xvi. 4,), and then at last, by right information, it came to this issue: I have said it, Thou and Ziba divide the land (2 Sam. xix. 26.), as if ministers only had less secular right to their livings than other men.

This I am occasioned to mention in this place as not the least *inter centum gravamina Hiberniæ*, because it was an ordinary and scandalous part of the iniquity of those times, which crusht the poor aged translator, after all his holy labours in that blessed work (to bring in those other sheep that were not as yet of Christ's fold, that they might hear his voice, that in Ireland there might be one sheep-fold and one shepherd), and was sadly bemoaned, as an injurious usurpation over bishops and others, as well as over our translator, and the bishop his patron (that had invested him into his living, according to the laws of God and the land); at which ungodly act, my Lord of Kilmore is so startled (that did not fear shadows) that he summons the intruder to appear at his Episcopal Courts at Cavan, and charges him to relinquish his unjust intrusion into another minister's right, seeing he was otherwise also obnoxious; for the Bishop had conferred upon him the parish of Dyne; and had sworn him to personal residence; and that he should not hold any other living with it; but, contrary to his solemn and sacred oath, he marches up to the Prerogative Office, and for a little money to the clerk, he procures and obtains a mock-dispensation from that most sacred obligation of his oath, and a faculty to retain as many livings as he could enclose and catch in his net, all which vile practices my Lord of Kilmore hated with a perfect

hatred: And therefore finding him stiff and obstinate to persist in his abominable iniquity, after several canonical admonitions, he excommunicates him, and causeth the excommunication to be published throughout the whole Deanery; and deprives him of that living which he justly held by my lord's collation, as well as of those into which he had most unjustly intruded himself. Whereupon the delinquent appeals to the Prerogative Court, and cites the Bishop to answer, which he readily doth in his own defence, and in the defence of the Translator. But what audience and justice he found there in so just and good a cause you may be amazed to hear (for it was openly said, that so worthy and grave a prelate, would have found, if not for his sacred profession and station, yet for the venerable majesty of his person) more respect from the janissaries of the great Turk; and this you shall presently see in the Twenty-four Articles of his Recusation penned, and delivered in that Court with his own hand, which are as follows:—

Recusatio 24 Articulorum
Episcopi Kilmorensis.

Coram vobis venerabilibus viris Georgio Rives, Legum Doctor, et Guilielmo Hilton, Artium magistro, Reverendissimi in Christo patris Jacobi providentiâ divinâ Armachani Archiepiscopi, totius Hiberniæ Primatis, nec non Judiciis, Præsidis, sive Commissarii

Curiæ Regiæ Prerogativæ pro causis Ecclesiasticis, et ad facultates in et per totum regnum Hiberniæ, regiâ authoritate legitime constituti, substitutis sive surrogatis ut vulgo creditur.

Ego, Guilielmus Kilmorensis Episcopus, cum debitâ vobis reverentiâ propono, Quod licet ante hoc exceptionem quandam declinatoriam jurisdictionis vestræ in quadam prætensâ causâ duplicis querelæ motâ a Guilielmo Bayly Clerico Diocesios Kilmorensis, justis de causis interposuerim, ac nominatim, propter incompetentiam fori, per absentiam, per absentiam Reverendissimi Presidis, et suspicionem animi vestri in me iniqui, quas etiam coram eodem Reverendissimo Præside aliisve æquis arbitris probandas in me recepi, ac licet etiam pro parte meâ venerabilem virum Edwardum Parry Sacra Theologiæ Professorem elegerim ac nominaverim; vos tamen dictæ recusationi meæ non modo deferre recusastis, sed novis insuper et pluribus indiciis animum vestrum mihi infensum prodidistis: Ea proptu Ego Episcopus antedictus animo non prorogandi, sed expressius et particularius contra jurisdictionem et personas vestras excipiendo, dico et allego.

1. Imprimis, quod prœtensa quærela dicti Guilielmi Bayly oritur ex sententiâ quâdam in causâ correctionis ex officio meo Episcopali, et jussu illustrissimi Proregis, in quâ si modum excesserim, legitima appellatio erat

ad Synodum Provinciæ, vel Consistorium Archiepiscopale.

2. Quod dictus Bayly à sententiâ prædictâ judicialiter, et vivâ voce appellavit, unde servato ordine jurisdictionum ex decreto nuperi Synodi Dublinensis causæ cognitio, omisso intermedio Archiepiscopali consistorio, devolvi non potest ad hanc Curiam.

3. Quod firmamentum defensionis dicti Baly nititur facultate quadam ab hac curiâ concessâ; cum vero nemo sit idoneus judex in propriâ causâ, satis inverecundè vos hic inquiritis.

4. Quod Regiæ Majestati cognitio abusivarum facultatum in ipsâ lege reservatur expressis verbis, ut hoc forum vestrum, à quo ejusmodi facultates emanant, huic rei incompetens sit.

5. Quod sub nomine Reverendissimi Primatis Armachani delitiscentes tenorem Comissionis vestræ non inseritis citationibus vestris, ut nesciatur nedum quod, aut quatenus vobis comissum sit, sed an omnino ab ipso surogati sitis.

6. Quod jurisdictione vestra non fundatâ, illud satis scitur, homines vere Laicos in Episcopos ex executione episcopalis officii nullam habere potestatem.

7. Quod litem vestram facitis, dum in citatione vestrâ, narratis à me gesta in præjudicum jurisdictionis Curiæ Regiæ Prerogativæ, et ud facultates cedere, ejusque contemptum, ex quo constat (fatente

actore) hanc causam ad commodum et honorem vestrum spectare.

8. Quod ut quoque modo processum vestrum defendatis, fingitis causam esse duplicis querelæ, cum nulla sit hic mutua petitio, aut Reconventio, aut querela nisi simplex tantum.

9. Quod nimium favorem et propensitatem ad partem dicti Guilielmi Bayly ostendatis, cum probum virum et disertum appellatis, causâ nondum discussâ, cum accusatorem Episcopi sui, canones ecclesiastici, nec laudandum, nec facile audiendum, et nisi causam probaverit, infamem haberi volunt.

10. Quod causâ nondum auditâ in eâ pronunciastis, dum dictum Bayly, vicarium de Dyne appellatis, quâ tamen vicariâ se a me spoliatum conqueritur.

11. Quod vetus mihi litigium est vobiscum super institutionibus (quas hæc curia usurpavit) ex quo in admissione Nicolai Bernard ad vicariam de Kildromferton, protestationem interposui, quam tu Guilielme Hilton indignè tulisti, eaque non obstante, et illum, et multos alios instituisti, reclamantibus Episcopis, quo nomine ergo, iniqui estis, non mihi tantum, sed æque omnibus.

12. Quod cum nuper de primâ citatione vestrâ conquestus essem apud illustrissimum Prœsidem in quâ Majestas læsa videbatur, vos ea de causâ, haud dissimulanter iratos habui.

13. Quod comparentem ex eâ citatione, ad tribunal vestrum, expectare, et per sesquihoram inambulare, tanquam ex infima plebeculâ coegistis.

14. Quod cum proximo die juridico à vobis dimissus essem sub hâc formulâ, quod me non moraremini, quod nihil habuistis mihi objiciendum, tu tamen Guilielme Hilton post paulo dixisti futurum, ut denuo citarer, ex quo conciliorum comunicationum cum dicto Guilielmo Bayly prodidisti.

15. Quod cum secunda citatio minus succederet, perperam facta, sub nomine Episcopi Lismorensis, tu idem Guilielme Hilton actorem admonuisti, ut de integro inciperet.

16. Quod cum tertio citatus Recusationem quandam jurisdictionis vestræ oppossuissem, propter incompetentiam et suspicionem, quarum causas paratus eram coram arbitris ostendere, vos jam non admisistis ut oportuit, sed in proximum diem juridicum super ea deliberastis.

17. Quod quarto citatum ad audiendum voluntatem vestram super recusatione prædictâ, cum cerneretis ad tribunal vestrum appropinquantem, surrexistis illico, et quanquam nec auditorio egressi eratis, nec Præco populum missum fecisset, nec hora effluxerat, renuistis me Episcopum antedictum comparentem audire, ut haberetis aliquem colorem, me contumacem pronunciandi.

18. Quod cum proximo die juridico comparuissem et contrunaciam mihi falso impositam purgassem, et iteratâ prædictâ Recusatione et arbitrum probationis pro parte meâ Reverendum virum Edwardum Parry sacræ Theologiæ Professorum nominassem, vos hæc admittere recusastis, sed me ad libellum accipiendum adigere voluistis.

19. Quod in acta Curiæ referri curastis, me non comparuisse et in iisdem narratis tamen, me præsentem admonitum fuisse de comparendo de die in diem usque ad finem litis, in altero imperite, in altero ineptè, in utroque (salvâ reverentiâ vobis debitâ) injustè.

20. Quod sigillum officii curiæ Regiæ Prærogativæ, et ad facultates dispensationibus circa pluralitatem beneficiorum, et residentiam temerarie profusis, et interdum legi divinæ repugnantibus apponitis.

21. Quod Episcoporum jurisdictionem et ordinariam et excitatam à supremo magistratu impedire, ipsos ad tribunal vestrum protrahere, vexare, vilipendere, non veremini.

22. Quod eorum jura Episcopalia in Institutionibus notoriè usurpastis.

23. Quod rescripta conceditis, in quibus multa, quoad sensum inepta, quoad verba incongrua continentur, quibus ideo de jure nulla fides adhibenda sit, cujusmodi sunt quæ sub sigillo vestro in hâc causâ emanarunt.

24. Quod nuper in hâc eadem causâ, sigillum vestrum literis, in quibus Regia Majestas læsa fuerit, apponebatur minus discretè, ne quid gravius dicam, judex tamen indiscretus, quoad recusationem iniquo æquiparatur.

> Has ob causas, quas omnes, aut earum plurimas Ego Episcopus antedictus coram æquis arbitris verificare paratus sum (adeoque Reverendum virum Edwardum Parry S. Theologiæ Doctorem, ex parte meâ nomino) vestrum tribunal, absente Reverendo Præside, vestrasque personas, tanquam mihi merito in hâc causâ suspectas, declino et recuso ad quemcunque juris effectum.

Dublini, An. Dom. 1638.

By the tenor of this large and learned Recusation, you may see this righteous man bold as a lion, this apostical Bishop wrestling against the princes of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places, and therefore undoubtedly furnished with the whole armour of God to stand his ground.

The iniquity he found in his own courts (which he endeavoured to put far from his tabernacle), he that runs may read in those superior courts: You see what a just defence this worthy Bishop makes, which all the members of their court could not enervate (it being of a higher strain than their vulgar brain could reach):

And of what little esteem, true worth, and excellency of spirit, are amongst disingenuous, ignoble, and unworthy persons, that are viler than the earth they tread upon.

And, as it was truly said to the king by Sir Henry Wotton, that there was not such a man to be found in all his Majesty's dominions: so *Solus Kilmorensis novit se gerere ut episcopum*, was now again in all good prelates' mouths—who alone had the ingenuity and courage to stand in the breach, and become advocate for them all, though none of them clave unto him.

Here you see how two pitiful lay-surrogates, Rives and Hilton, that were substituted by the famous Dr. Usher, (into whose hands the king had committed the jewel of his royal prerogative over all persons and causes ecclesiastical) do trample the best of prelates and of men under their feet (as in this particular), and he never concerned himself in the least to deliver the oppressed, or to open his mouth in judgment, or to stay the fury of the malignant oppressor, or once to say to them, as old Eli said to his sons and surrogates: 'Why do ye such things, for I hear of your evil doings by all this people; nay, my sons, for it is no good report that I hear;'—till the ark of God is violently snatcht from their shoulders by the bloody Philistines, with their lives also; and of many thousands besides for their impieties, which suddenly

after this became our dolorous case upon the very like account.*

But this is not all: since the adversary that was stirred up, and was so bold and active to dash so good a work, as the translation of the Bible into Irish,

* No explanation has been given of, much less apology offered for, Archbishop Usher's apathetic conduct at this time when his zealous suffragan and the unfortunate Mr. King were being so ruthlessly trampled upon by the implacable officials of his own court. The Archbishop had not only supported Bedell in the Convocation held in Dublin, in 1634, when it was proposed to make the Irish language a vehicle for imparting religious instruction to the natives; but he had, together with others who were little inferior to himself in station and influence, specially recommended Mr. King as a fit and proper person to discharge the duties for which he was now so cruelly persecuted. It can only be conjectured, that the strong prejudices, which, it is known, the Primate had in early life entertained against the use of the Irish vernacular, for the purposes in question, were suddenly revived; and this conjecture receives some countenance from the following letter, which Bedell addressed to him on the 29th of March, 1638:—

Most Rev. Father, my hon. good Lord,

The superscription of your letter was most welcome unto me, as being under your own hand the best evidence of the recovery of your health, for which I did, and do, give hearty thanks unto God. For the contents of them, as your Grace conceived, they were not so pleasant. But 'the words of a friend are faithful,' saith the wise man; sure they are no less painful than any other—unkindness cuts nearer to the heart than malice can do; I have some experience by your Grace's said letters, concerning which I have been at some debate with myself, whether I should answer them with David's demand, 'What have I

could not satisfy his lust on the good bishop, he proceeds further in his malice: He brings the translator into the High Commission Court, and how he is there used you shall see in a letter written by my Lord of Kilmore

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now done?' or, as the wrongs of parents, with patience and silence. But, Mr. Dean telling me, that this day he is going to you, I will speak once, come of it what will.

You write that the course I took with the Papists was generally cried out against, neither do you remember in all your life that anything was done here, by any of us, at which the professors of the Gospel did take more offence, or by which the adversaries were more confirmed in their superstitions and idolatries; wherein you could wish that I had advised with my brethren before I would adventure to pull down that which they have been so long a-building. Again, what I did, you know was done out of a good intention; but you were assured that my project would be so quickly refuted with the present success and event, that there would be no need my friends to advise me from building such castles in the air, &c.

My Lord, all this is a riddle to me. What course I have taken with the Papists; what I have done, at which your professors of the Gospel did take such offence, or the adversaries were so confirmed; what it is that I have adventured to do, or what piece so long a-building I have pulled down; what those projects were, and those castles in the air so quickly refuted with present success—as the Lord knows, I know not. For truly, since I came to this place, I have not changed one jot of my purpose, or practice, or course, with Papists, from that which I held in England, or in Trinity College; or found (I thank God) any ill-success, but the slanders only of some persons discontented against me from other occasions; against which I cannot hope to justify myself, if your Grace will give ear to private information. But let me know, I will not say my accuser (let him continue masked till God discover him), but my transgression, and have place of defence; and if mine adversary

to the Earl of Strafford, the Lord Lieutenant, about this matter, which is *verbatim* as followeth:

Right Honorable my good Lord,

That which I have done sometimes willingly, I do now necessarily, to make my address to your Hon^r^ by writing my unfitness for conversation hertofore* hath pleaded for me, and now your lordship's infirmity† allows, and in a sort enforces it. The occasion is not my love of contention (which I have committed to God), or any other matter of profit, but God's honor, and (as He is witness) your's. I have lately received letters from my Lord of Canterbury, whereby I perceive that his grace is informed, that Mr. King whom I employed to translate the Bible into Irish, is a man so ignorant that the translation cannot be worthy public use in the Church of God; and besides obnoxious, so as the Church can receive no credit from anything that is his; and his grace adds,

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write a book against me, I will hope to bear it on my shoulder, and bind it to me as a crown. * * * * Some other passages there be in your Grace's letters, which I —— but I will lay mine hand upon my mouth; and, craving the blessings of your prayers, ever remain,

Your Grace's poor brother, and humble servant,

W. KILMORE.

* The bishop was deaf of one ear.

† The earl was at that time suffering from the gout.

that he is so well acquainted with your lordship's disposition, that he assures himself that you would not have given away his living had you not seen just cause for it.

I account myself bound to satisfy his grace herein, and desire, if I may be so happy to do it, by satisfying you. I do subscribe to his grace's assured persuasion that your lordship, had you not conceived Mr. King to be such as he writes, would not have given away his living. But, my lord, the greatest, wisest, and justest men do and must take many things upon the information of others, who themselves are men, and may sometimes out of weakness, or some other cause, be deceived.

Touching Mr. King's seeliness (which it concerns me the more to clear him of, that I be not accounted seely myself) I beseech your lordship to take information, not by them that never saw him till yesterday, but by the ancient, either church or statesmen of his kingdom, in whose eyes he hath lived these many years, as are the Lord Primate, the Bishop of Meath, the Lord Dillon, Sir James Ware and the like: I doubt not but your lordship shall understand that there is no such danger, that the translation should be unworthy because he did it, being a man of that known sufficiency, for the Irish especially, either in prose or verse, as few are his matches in the kingdom. And

shortly not to argue by conjecture and divination; let the work itself speak, yea, let it be examined *vigoroso examine;* if it be found approveable, let it not suffer disgrace from the small boast of the workman, but let it rather (as old Sophocles, accused of dotage) be absolved from the sufficiency of the work.

Touching his being obnoxious, it is true that there is a scandalous information put in against him in the High Commission Court by his despoyler, Mr. Bayly (as my Lord of Derry told him in my hearing he was), and by an excommunicate despoiler, as myself, before the execution of any sentence, declared him in the court to be: And Mr. King being cited to answer, and not appearing (as by law he was not bound) was taken *pro confesso*, deprived of his ministry and living, fined £100, decreed to be attached, and imprisoned. His adversary Mr. Bayly, before he was sentenced, purchased a new dispensation to hold his benefice, and was the very next day after (as appears by the date of the Institution) both presented in the king's title (although the benefice be of my collation) and instituted by my Lord Primate's Vicar, shortly after inducted by an arch-deacon of another diocese. And within a few days he brought down an attachment, and delivered Mr. King to the Pursuivant. He was haled by the head and feet to horse-back, and brought to Dublin, where he hath been kept, and continued under arrest these four or five

months, and hath not been suffered to purge his supposed contempt by oath and witnesses, that by reason of his sickness he was hindered; whereby he was brought to death's door and could not appear and prosecute his defence, and that by the cunning of his adversary he was circumvented, entreating that he might be restored to liberty, and his cause into the former estate. But it hath not availed him. My reverend colleagues of the High Commission do some of them pity his case; others say, the sentence passed cannot be reversed, lest the credit of the court be intacked. They bid him simply submit himself and acknowledge his sentence just; whereas the bishops of Rome themselves, after most formal proceeding, do grant *restitutionem in integrum*, and acknowledge that *sententiâ Romanæ sedis potest in melius commutari*. My Lord, if I understand what is right, divine or human, these be wrongs upon wrongs, which, if they reach unto Mr. King's person were of less consideration; but when through his side that great work, the translation of God's Book, so necessary for both his Majesty's kingdoms, is mortally wounded, pardon me (I beseech your lordship) if I be sensible of it, I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make, of our rewarding him thus for that service, or what the example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your lordship have gained if he had died (as it was almost a miracle

that he did not) under arrest, and had been at once deprived of living, liberty, and life? God hath reprieved him, and given your lordship means upon right information to remedy with one word all inconveniencies. For conclusion (good my lord) give me leave a little to apply the parable of Nathan to King David, to this purpose. If the way-faring man that is come to us (for such he is, having never yet been settled in one place) have so sharp a stomach, that he must be provided for by pluralities, sith there are herds and flocks plenty, suffer him not, I beseech you, under the color of the king's name, to take the cosset ewe of a poor man to satisfy his ravenous appetite. So I beseech the Heavenly Physician to give your lordship health of soul and body, and rest

Your lordship's most humble servant
in Christ Jesu,

December 1, 1638. WILLIAM KILMORENS.

By this prudent and pious letter, you see what opposition the great work of the translation of the Bible into Irish met withal, *hoc Ithacus velit;* and surely the hand of Joab was there in all this transaction: I mean, the heart and the hand of the Jesuit, when that which ought to have been the duty of all other deputies and prelates (being seriously minded only by one) is thus slighted, if not opposed by all, that were well

contented to leave the poor Irish in Egyptian darkness still, out of which nothing could deliver them but the light of Scriptures that delivered us, which to them are still a sealed book.*

This iniquity, amongst many others, was preparatory to the rebellion that followed soon after, and we being

* Bedell lived to see the completion of this translation of the Old Testament Scriptures into the Irish vernacular, but not its publication. On his death, in 1641, the MS. fell into the hands of Mr. Dennis Sheridan (who had himself contributed not a little to it), from whom it passed to Dr. Henry Jones, Bishop of Meath. Dr. Jones confided the MS. to Dr. Andrew Sall, a learned and converted Jesuit, who commenced a revision of it, but his death prevented his completing it. Dr. Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, received it from Dr. Sall, and committed it to the care of Dr. Narcissus Marsh, Provost of Trin. Coll., Dublin. Mr. Higgins, an Irish clergyman, and Mr. Reilly, an able Irish scholar, and who had been engaged in correcting an edition of the N. Testament in Irish, were also engaged to correct this translation of the O. Testament; and finally, the transcription of the MS. was revised by Mr. Mullan, M.B., of Trin. Coll., Dublin. Five hundred copies of this *Editio Princeps* of the Irish Bible were published in London, in the year 1685, towards defraying the expenses of which the Hon. Robert Boyle contributed the munificent sum of 700*l.* The greater number of copies were immediately sent to Ireland; but many were transmitted to the Highlands of Scotland, as the Bible in Irish was intelligible to those familiar with the Gaelic tongue, which is a dialect of the Celtic as well as the Irish. A second edition of Bedell's Bible was called for in 1690, when Mr. Boyle again generously subscribed a considerable sum towards defraying the cost of printing 3000 copies in the Roman character. The latest reprints of it have been made at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

far from England (the spring of our welfare under God) could find no remedy against these prevailing evils, or hope of redress; which hid God's face from us, till the flood came that swept all away.

In the meantime the Bishop of Kilmore slips no opportunity of doing them good; his heart's desire and prayer to God for the Irish, that they might be saved, being the same with the apostle of us Gentiles, 'that Israel might be saved'; but until he could compass the work of printing, which he intended speedily to effectuate in his own house, at his own charge, he causeth some of Leo's and Chrysostom's homilies to be translated into Irish; namely, the three first upon Dives and Lazarus, which are almost altogether spent in the highest commendation of the Scriptures that any rhetorical expressions can reach; and those, with his little Irish Catechism, he sent abroad amongst them, one page English, the other Irish, which the Irish friars and priests themselves professed they delighted to read.

He was zealous for God, not only in his own sphere to propagate the truth, but also to work reconciliation among the Reformed Churches abroad; in order whereunto he kept correspondence with Mr. John Dury,*

* John Dury, the celebrated Scotch divine, who labored with great zeal to unite the Lutherans and the Calvinists. For letters addressed to him jointly by Archbishop Usher, Bishop Bedell, and Bishop Richard-

that undertook that negociation, and allowed him £20 *per an:* which were duly received by Mr. Hartlik at London; who also printed some of his letters, of the matter and manner of evangelical union, which are worthy to be seen and read of all that are lovers of the truth and peace, which (God willing) I mind to set down hereafter by themselves, because they are long and written in Latin.

I remember when the Lutherans of Dublin were cited to the Archbishop's Consistory, for refusing Sacramental communion with our Church, they desired some respite of time till they might acquaint their teachers in Germany, where they were bred, that they might have their advice; because they did believe that Christ was otherwise present in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper than our Church did hold and teach; and therefore could not come with a good conscience to participate of that ordinance with us, *salvâ doctrinâ et fide Lutheranâ.* When the letters were brought, that had in them all that the Lutherans could say on that point, and the good old Bishop Buckley* (that

son, see *Add. MS.* 1465. *ff.* 5 & 6, and *Sloan MS.* 402. *ff.* 193 & 195, in the British Museum. There is also a long letter from Dury to Bedell in the *Sloan MS.* 654. *ff.* 192 *et seq.*, dated Franckfort-on-the-Maine $\frac{14}{24}$ May 1633.

* Dr. Lancelot Buckley or Bulkeley, Archbishop of Dublin. "He was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford; and coming over to Ire-

was reported to have preached but one sermon in many years upon that text, '*Nolite tangere unctos meos*,' (touch not mine annointed); which, once a-year, he commonly read in Christ's Church, upon the King's day, before the State (the three points being known long before into which he branched his text—'*unctus meos*,' saith the Pope; '*unctos meos*,' saith the people; and '*unctos meos*,' saith God) was at a stand, and knew not what to make of such a learned piece. Therefore, he, with the advice of many learned and unlearned men, sent Dr. Parry,* then preacher at St. Patrick's, in Dublin, with these letters to the Bishop of Kilmore; with earnest entreaty, for the truth's sake, and credit of our Church, to answer them speedily; which he did with that learning, piety, conviction, and success, that when his letters were received in Germany, they were so highly commended

land, became Archdeacon of Dublin; and succeeded to the Archbishopric by patent dated August 18th, and was consecrated at Drogheda, 3rd October, 1619. He endeavoured to restrain the seditious harangues, which about that time were abundantly delivered by the Jesuits and friars of Dublin. He died at Tallaght, in the 82nd year of his age, 'being spent with grief for the calamities of the times,' 8th Sept. 1650, and was buried in St. Patrick's."—*(Cotton's Fasti Ecc. Hib.)*

* Dr. Edward Parry, who at that time was Prebendary of Stagonyl, in the Cathedral of St. Patrick's, Dublin. He was promoted to the see of Killaloe in 1646.

and delighted, in that the Lutheran divines sent letters immediately to all their friends and countrymen in Dublin, to require them not to refuse communion with our Church any longer; but to join with us in that sacrament, and in all other Gospel ordinances; which they did ever thereafter without any scruple. Now Dr. Parry had all these papers, and it were fit they should be enquired after, and published for after generations.

His moderation and discretion were so well known to all men, as if the Lord had been visibly at his hand assisting him in all his straight ways. For when Adeir, Bishop of Killala,* in the province of Connaught, was accused, arraigned, and condemned, fined and confined, and deprived of his bishopric at once, by the High Commission Court, he had no hand in it, though he sat a member of that court.

The occasion was this: For the height of the Scottish covenant, *anno* 1639, amongst many learned and worthy men (as ever that nation bred) there was

* Dr. Archibald Adair, a native of Scotland, and favorable to the Covenanters. He was deprived (for the reasons assigned by Clogy) on the 18th of May 1640. King Charles, conceiving that the Bishop was too hardly used by the High Commission Court, shortly afterwards promoted him to the united sees of Waterford and Lismore. He was driven out of Ireland by the rebels in 1641, and died at Bristol a few years later.

one Mr. [John] Corbet, a minister of the west of Scotland, driven out for refusing subscription to a violent and bloody imposition; who coming to Dublin for refuge, and printing some pamphlet against the Scottish proceedings, was cried up and brought into favor with B—— D——; and by him, with the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Strafford; who understanding that there was a living vacated in the diocese of Killala, sent him thither. Now whether the living did belong to the bishop's collation or no, I dare not positively say, being above forty years ago, though it was reported so to be. His reception with the bishop (being also of that nation) was so unpleasing to him, that he conceived great indignation against him. For the bishop had told him, after the Scottish manner of jesting, that he was a '*corby*-messenger' (alluding to his name *Corby*, a raven), and that it was an ill bird that did defile its own nest, alluding to his book called *Lysimachus Nicanor*;* which he had adjudged him to have penned in gall or blood against his own countrymen, the Scots: and that he said in his book, that he hardly escaped with his life, but had left his wife behind him, to try the Scots' humanity: the bishop should say, he had left his wife to a base office, and some such stuff as this; which Mr. C[orbet] gathered up carefully, and

* In this tract, which was published at Edinburg 1640, the author draws a parallel between the Jesuits and Scotch Covenanters.

brought with him to Dublin, and delivered all in full tale to those that sent him (with several aggravations; which being mustered up together, and ranked in several articles, at the first overthrew the bishop), who being incensed against him, with great indignation, by his adversary's information, cites him; and, by a pursuivant, sends for him immediately to appear at Dublin to answer at the High Commission Court to those things that were alleged against him by Mr. C[orbet]; being already condemned, before he was come near unto them, and his bishopric designed for, and afterwards given to, Mr. John Maxwell, sometime Bishop of Ross in Scotland, whence he was excluded.*

When the sentence was given against this bishop, and all that had spoken before the Bishop of Kilmore had with one consent condemned him, and it came to his turn to speak his judgment; he first takes the articles into his hand, that were alleged against him, and reads them over, and fetches the beginning of his speech from the description and qualification of a bishop set down by Paul to Timothy and Titus: and says that he cannot find by all those articles that the Bishop of Killala (there present) is guilty of any spiritual enormity, contrary to these apostolical qualifications;

* Bishop Maxwell was driven out of Ireland by the rebels in 1641, and repaired to the king at Oxford, by whom he was greatly esteemed. In 1645, he was translated to the Archbishopric of Tuam.

or that he is accused of any error in life or doctrine, which may make a bishop censurable, &c.; and so he goes on with such deliberate and mighty demonstrations of truth from the records that are extant of the Greek and Latin Churches, in such like case of censure of a bishop, that those who had spoken before him were ashamed, having taken their rise no higher, but insisted only upon those pitiful expressions, as if they had proceeded from a heart complying rather with the Scottish irregularities, than with their episcopal constitution in Ireland, which is accounted there as ancient as their christianity. And those that spoke after him were more moderate; yet there being none that durst openly profess for him, but this Micaiah, the poor old dunny* bishop is cast, and deprived, and imprisoned, and another possesses his bishopric immediately, that had little joy in it; for within a year or two at most, he is stript naked, sore wounded, and left among the dead by the rebels in that place. Yet, by the special hand of God, his life was preserved (by the Earl of Thomond), as Job's, and his life that went down from Hierusalem to Jerico, and fell among thieves, that robbed him of his raiment, and wounded him and departed leaving him half-dead: For the Earl of Thomond, like the kind Samaritan, took care of him; and, as soon as his wounds were healed, he came to

* Deafish.

Dublin, and preached every Lord's day in some church or other, when my Lord of Ormond, as many others, did delight much to hear, for he was a great preacher.

He went afterwards to the king to Oxford, and returned again *incognito*. I heard him say, that the king never understood rightly what kind of people the Irish rebels were, that had such an innate hatred against the people of God, till he told him. He was after dinner found dead in his study, after some sad news from England of the king's defeat, *anno* 1643.*

But this deprived Bishop Adeir remained not long in prison, and I giving him a visit, he told me these words: 'That there were none that opened their mouths in his defence but my most worthy bishop; and yet there were none in the court that said a word against what my bishop had spoken for him.' But what becomes of this poor, deprived, and imprisoned bishop at last? I will tell you briefly: One of his grand-jury-men that was fiercest against him (with another) was one Dr. Adderton,† sometime preacher at St. John's in Dublin, but then Bishop of Waterford.

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* This is an error; Dr. Maxwell died in Dublin, on the 14th Feb. in the year 164$\frac{2}{3}$.

† Dr. John Atherton, who, on account of his great knowledge of the canon-law and ecclesiastical affairs, was promoted by the Earl of Strafford to the united sees of Waterford and Lismore, in 1636. He expiated his crimes on Gallows-Green, Dublin, on the 5th Dec. 1640.

This prelate is about the very nick of time, by the just judgment of God (who sees not as man sees) accused, arraigned, and condemned for iniquities far above all that is left upon record concerning Sodom, and ignominiously executed, in the public place of shameful death; the Irish Popish-Sheriff Welsh insulting over him, and rejoicing that his tree did bear him such desirable fruit; he hoped ere long to have some more of the same kind from it, to the great scandal of religion amongst the professed enemies of it: But Dr. Bernard, his confessor, believed that God gave him repentance unto life, and preached a good sermon at his funeral, which he printed and called *The penitent Death of a Woful Sinner*. When he was condemned, he sent for the Bishop of Kilmore; but he was gone from Dublin homeward, and so saw him not. His poor wife went for England to petition for the eight hundred pounds (her portion), which a great courtier was reported to have received for procuring that tragical promotion for her husband. And, at the same time, the Bishop of Killala, that was thought by all sober people to have been cast out of his bishopric, and degraded from his episcopal dignity, for inconsiderable trifles, made his address to the King by petition at the hand of Sir Robert Stewart, that had been instrumental in his former advancement, and had the bishopric of Water-

ford granted unto him. Unto which pre-eminency in the church he had not been so suddenly advanced again, after his dejection and degradation, if he had been found under any original guilt in his former station; which bishopric he possessed till Waterford was taken by the rebels in '41.

There was another of the same order, and a leading man, if not the sole actor against the Bishop of Killala, that was reported to be guilty of such foul crimes, as brought the Bishop of Waterford to a shameful end, and was arraigned also for them, and the like condemnation was expected at the next Session of Parliament, they being accounted brethren in will by common report, and Sir George Ratcliffe equally active against them both. He desired the Bishop of Kilmore to be bail for him; but he refused it, and left him to his own iniquity, that it might be found out to be abominable, to stand or fall to his own master. But the Rebellion gave him the benefit of absolution, and the Restoration in 1660 additional promotion.

On the 26th day of March 1638, it pleased God to visit my Lord of Kilmore's dear consort, Mrs. Bedell, with a lethargy (of which she died), that for humility, virtue, and godliness, was inferior to none of her sex or age, and, in her conjugal relation, superior to most. Her adorning and dress was not that outward; but the hidden man of the heart, in things not corruptible,

even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit; which is in the sight of God of great price, as of old time the holy women that trusted in God adorned themselves.

It is recorded of Sarah, for her commendation to all posterity, that she once called Abraham (her husband) *Lord;* but Mrs. Bedell was never heard to speak of him, or to him, but called him '*My Lord*'; and never came into his presence before any persons whatsoever, but with as much respectful reverence as to any honorable stranger. My lord himself preached at her funeral upon these words of *Eccl.* vii. 1, *A good name is better than good ointment;* and with that moderation of affection, and yet just commendation of her worth, that there were few dry eyes in the church all the while. Happy were all Adam's posterity if they were so equally yoked! I never saw the least jar or distaste between them in word or deed, in all the space of those years that I lived with them. He buried her in the remotest part of the south side of the churchyard of the cathedral of Kilmore, that she might rest in her grave till the Resurrection; observing such thronging and crowding of dead bodies into a small patch of ground in church and chancel, and casting up the bodies of the dead often before their flesh return to the dust, sometimes to the annoyance of the living, and disquieting the dead, till they hear the voice of Christ to awaken them; and that merely out of

ignorance, pride, and superstition: Therefore his judgment was altogether against burial in churches, and he made a canon against it, as you may see in his *Acta Synodalia*. He gave (as in all other things) a good example in choosing this place of burial, (where none was laid before, save his son John) where he intended to be laid himself, when the will of God should be.

Because you desire, perhaps, to know his judgment about the public Liturgy of the Church of England, and his way of public ministration, I am persuaded that no man could hear or read (which he often did) the Common Prayer-book with greater reverence and holy affection than he did in his own cathedral every Lord's day, and other appointed days by Act of Parliament; and that with the most strict observation of whatsoever is enjoined in the rubrics, without the least addition or diminution; insomuch that when a curate of another parish was upon a Lord's day, in the forenoon, reading the prayers of the day before him, in his cathedral, and began to add something of his own to the short prayers of book: After that the Bishop had observed him to do so once or twice, he arose hastily out of his seat, and went to the reader's pew, and snacht the book out of the curate's hand, and, pushing him from thence, said these words in the audience of all the people: "Be you suspended from your office,

till you learn to read the prayers better"; and so went on to read all the rest himself. It was his custom usually upon the Lord's days, to preach both morning and afternoon upon those select portions of Scripture commonly called the Epistles and Gospels of the day, and to catechise the younger sort before the afternoon's sermon.

He followed no man's custom nor example, but the rule, and in special he ordered that the whole Doxology to the Blessed Trinity, *Glory be to the Father, &c.*, should be always said by the minister alone, without the respond of the people; and the Psalms, as well as other Scriptures, to be read by the minister alone; so the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*. The Psalms of the Bible that are commanded to be read in all churches, he approved much above those of the Common prayers; which leaves out all the titles, which are of the Holy Ghost as much as the rest of the Psalm (wherefore St. Hierome calls *titulas claves*, and have often the sum and substance of the whole psalm in them), and in many particulars shamefully differ from the original, as being translated out of the vulgar Latin, and in the very infancy and minority, of the Reformation.

The Communion-table was placed by him, not at the east end, but within the body of the church, without any steps of gradual ascension or circumval-

lation by rails, though the custom had prevailed otherwise in most churches. There was no part of the service read at the Communion-table (save on a sacrament day), but in the usual reading-desk, that all the congregation might hear and see.

And for other innovations elsewhere introduced, he observed them not, whosoever was the promoter of them, as bowing at the word or name of Jesus, bowing to the Communion-table (upon which lay neither basins nor candles), and towards the east, and such like, all founded on ignorance and superstition; his judgment being (as Dr. Bernard well observes) "that those were "as well non-conformists who added of their own, as "those who came short of what was enjoined, as he "that adds an inch to the measure disowns it for a "rule, as well as he that cuts an inch off."

His entrance into the house of God, which is the church of the living God, was not like that of the heathenish Ædituus into his idol's temple, nor the approachings of the Romish priest unto his popish altar, that when he pronounceth these words, *intro ibo ad altare Dei*, by various gesticulations, gives dulian worship to all the petty idols in his way, till at length he arrives at the altar, where the dreadful crucifix stands before him, and the conjuring pix, where the fatidick host lies enshrined; and then, like Balaam's ass, falls down flat before it, as if he saw with her

what her master, the prestigious enchanter, did not: but his entrance was grave and reverent, without any incurvation, genuflection, oriental adoration, or topical veneration; so his attention, as his intention, was holy and reverent and exemplary, whether hearer or speaker, from the beginning to the end of God's worship and service, both in public and private, at all times and in all places alike; all things being done still according to the Apostle's rule in order and to edification.

He came often to church in his episcopal habiliments, but oftener without, in the afternoon especially. The ministering habits of his clergy he looked upon as academic distinctions of scholastic degrees, rather than ecclesiastical and evangelical qualifications for the ministry.

He desired no instrumental music in his cathedral (as organs or the like) no more than in other parochial churches, but vocal and spiritual singing, with grace in the heart, to the Lord. He never went about to set up a quire of quiristers, of singing men and singing women. The Psalms of David were his delight, in private and in public.

He was made dissatisfied with the pompous service of Christ Church, in Dublin, which was attended and celebrated with all manner of instrumental music, as organs, sackbuts, cornets, viols, &c., as if it had been at the dedication of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image

in the plain of Dura; and discovered his delike of those things (now in the times of the Gospel), to a leading Prelate, who told him only this: That they served much to the raising of the affection, &c. To whom he replied, "That all things that work upon the affections ought to tend to edification under the Gospel, as this did not."

He was a careful observer of the Lord's Day, both in public and in private in his family, according to the morality of it, which he did constantly assert and maintain. For, besides his constant preaching and catechising, in which he had a singular faculty, and delight above many, he repeated the sermon before or after supper, sung a psalm, and concluded the day with prayer, as he had begun it, ere he went to church. He did rule his house so well, that he was the fitter to rule the house of God.

His manner of preaching was esteemed most edifying; for first he did always show the connexion, and open the sense and meaning of the words of the Holy Ghost out of the original, whether they were few or many; and then raise divine observations from them; and make a lively and powerful application of them to the auditory, concluding with prayer. He affected not high strains of rhetoric to amuse the hearer; his words were easy to be understood as Paul's.

I have heard him say these words in the pulpit,

after his entrance upon the text: "I beseech the Lord "to guide my tongue, that I may, as I desire, rather "be his instrument to further the inward profit of "these holy mysteries, than seek to please the ears "with a fyled speech and flourish of words: No, ye "shall not look for it at my hand, if I could afford it; "little would I care for delighting; if I may teach, "and move, I desire to be no better a rhetorician," &c.

And, in his exhortations to his clergy at his visitations and synods: "Let the vain froth of human "knowledge, and the garnished and painted beauty "of enticing eloquence of man's wisdom give place; "preach me Christ crucified; know nothing but him; "put him before the eyes of God's people; glory in "nothing but him," &c.

Though his stature was tall, his voice was low and mournful, both in praying and preaching, but to the attentive ear very audible and powerful, with such evidence and demonstration of God's spirit, that the pious heart wished every word were penned that he uttered in the pulpit, in that heavenly order and method in which it was delivered. He preached upon all those Scriptures that are in the Common Prayer Book, which are parts of God's service, and ought therefore to be familiar and well-understood of the people by the very frequency of them, as he was wont to say. He left most excellent sermons upon them all.

As he did thus sanctify the Lord's Day at home (not allowing visiting, much less sporting or gaming, in any place of his diocese), so did he take care to walk with God every day, like another Enoch. In spending the day he regarded three things: the beginning, continuing, and the ending of it. He prayed every day thrice in his family, as Daniel did. In the morning as soon as he was drest (and commonly he was first up, and rung a little bell that lay in a window in a readiness to call his people together), and then read the Psalms of the day, in his Hebrew Psalter (which he always carried about him from a child) to himself alone, unless his son (that was minister of Kinally, at the head of Loughcarne) were present, or some other Hebrician; and then his manner was to read one verse out of the Hebrew into Latin, and the person present the other, to the end. Then he went to his study, and when the cloth was laid for dinner, kneeling down at the head of a table, he prayed the second time; and so likewise after supper, using always the same form of prayer, which he used before sermon on the Lord's Day, always concluding with the Lord's prayer, the people saying it after him.

The Common-prayer was never used in his family by himself, or any body else, for esteeming that an ecclesiastical and public, and not a domestic and private way of worship, he did thus all the days of his

life, having due and sacred respect to the Church Liturgy in its own place, that it was designed for.

He never rose from dinner or supper till a chapter of God's book was read at his table, and some time spent by him in opening some difficulties in it, whatsoever company was present there; whether protestants or papists, each person had a Bible laid before him, himself either the Hebrew or Greek, or the new manuscript of the Irish translation.

He was his own domestic chaplain: no man ever prayed in his family but himself, when at home, nor craved a blessing or gave thanks at his table beside himself; whereas in many prelates' houses all these duties are cast upon the chaplain, as in the families of secular lords.

He took an account of himself, how he spent every day, by keeping a journal thereof; a thing that imports more than it can merchants for their estates, to keep their day-book; and as a Christian must study his own book, so did he daily.

He had sometimes sad fits of the stone (though otherwise of great strength and health of body, above many) a few years before his death, as many great students of a sedentary life; which yet he did endure with a wonderful patience. The greatest antidote against it, which he found by experience to do him most good, was digging in his garden in a morning.

Laying aside his gown, he would dig for half-an-hour, or thereabouts; and, being a little heated, he found mitigation of his pain and help to his stomach in craving and digesting: upon which account Calvin is said to be found digging in his garden at Geneva, when one was sent to kill him, but had no heart to do it, finding him so harmlessly employed.

He had brought with him out of Italy such curious instruments for racemation, engraffing, and inoculating, that I saw him once teach his gardener how to use them; and when he put the graft into the stock most neatly only tied it about with a seare cloth, &c. Lovers of vertù will take no exception at ingenuity in any person whatsoever. Cyrus is said to have gloried in trees of his own planting, more than in all he found set before him.

His understanding and judgment in things divine were so great, that did you see that trunk of manuscripts that he left behind him, some in Latin, some in Italian, (in both which he did excel), and many in English, you would conclude that he had kept correspondence with most of the famous divines in Christendom, about all points of controverted divinity, and imposed ceremony. There was a manuscript of his writing containing fifty sheets of paper in answer to two questions propounded to him in England, by one that called himself then Paul Washington, a priest. The

first question was: 'Where was our Church before Luther?' The second: 'What do you think became of our fathers before the Reformation?' Old questions that have been often answered. This popish fellow came afterwards to Dublin, and priested there under the name of Paul Harris, and was a very troublesome fellow. My Lord Primate of Armagh, Dr. Usher, was very earnest with him [Bedell] to have published it, which, had he lived, he had done; but what is become of it I know not, since all his books and papers came into the rebels' hands, that would give little quarter to that piece.

I remember that when Dr. Usher, the Primate, (that loved him above all of his order) had given him his *Immanuel*, a holy and learned treatise, concerning the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God, which the Primate had presented to the Earl of Strafford, the Lord Deputy, for a New Year's gift (and now is bound up with his large body of divinity), the Bishop of Kilmore told his Grace that the phrase, "a woman shall compass a man," Jer. xxxi. 22, mentioned page 5 of that noble tract, was not spoken by the prophet (as he thought), nor meant of Christ; but was only a metaphorical allusion to God's former gracious dealings with the people of Israel; whom He had long woo'd and courted, as it were, from the land of Egypt to that day, with many

loving-kindnesses and tender mercies, as *Ezek.* xvi. doth allegorically set it forth: "But now the Lord will create a new thing in the earth, a woman shall compass a man," *mulier ambibit virum (Ecclesia Christum spousam);* they shall begin to seek after the Lord, in a most serious manner, as the Gentiles shall, as he formerly sought after them, according to the phrase, Hos. iii. 5: "Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and His goodness in the latter days; and chap. ii. 6, "Thou shalt call me Ishi (*i.e.*, my dear and loving husband), and shall call me no more Baali" (*i.e.*, Lord and Master); and verse 7, "Thou shalt say, I will go and return unto my first husband, for then it was better with me than now." And within five or six lines of the same page, speaking of Christ, in this expression: "That he was the immediate fruit of the womb, and not of the loins": the Bishop of Kilmore affirmed that Christ was the fruit of the loins, as properly as the fruit of the womb, as being descended from the loins of all his progenitors, and properly the seed of the woman, Gen. iii. 15., the seed of Abraham, Heb. ii. 6, "was made of the seed of David, according to the flesh," in the womb of the blessed Virgin, that was of the house and lineage of David, Luke i. 27; otherwise Christ had not been of the stock, nor the son of David.

My Lord Primate approved his judgment in both these particulars with a great deal of humility, ingenuity, and thanks; which are peculiar to ingenuous spirits of the highest attainments.

He was orthodox and sound in the faith once given to the Saints. He did hate vain thoughts (with David), but did love God's law. The conclusion of a letter of his to Dr. Samuel Ward, head of Sidney College, in Cambridge (between whom and him many letters passed in England, Italy, and Ireland) doth evidence this: "I am sorry that Arminianism finds such favor in the Low Countries and among ourselves, and glad that my Lord of Sarum (whom I truly love and honor) came off so well in the business of his sermon." And of another letter to Dr. Richardson, Bishop of Ardagh, in these words: "For Pelagianism, Semi-Pelagianism, " Arminianism (to all which I say, *anathema*); If in " your own judgment you do absolve me from such, not " only worthless but wicked opinions, do not, I beseech " you, by accumulating testimonies against them (The " controversy between them being about 'The efficiency " of Grace,' which you may see in due time), raise a " suspicion in the minds of those, to whose hands " soever these papers do come, that my lips speak " wickedness, and my tongue uttereth deceit, that " secretly, at least, I nourish such monsters, to the " quelling of which your labor is intended. So that

"with all thanks for your love and good opinion "(which I am desirous to retain, and answer with the "like), I commend you to the grace of God, and the "peace, which now and evermore, according to the "Apostle's rule, be moderator in our hearts, and keep "them in Jesus Christ. Amen."

His humility was his highest ornament, and splendor of all his other gifts and graces, having well observed that general charge of the Apostle, "Let the same mind be in you that was in Jesus Christ"; which appeared as well in his countenance, apparel, gait, gesture, words, and deeds, as in his heart and mind; in which, as an Israelite indeed, there was no guile, as our Lord said of Nathaniel.

One memorable passage of his humility I had almost forgot, but that a person of honor and of greatest learning and authority in the church helpt me to it. It was this: At a Visitation in the remotest part of his diocese, near Manner-Hamilton, Sir Frederick Hamilton invited him after sermon to dinner with much earnestness; but my Lord of Kilmore having thanked him for his respects, told him he was resolved to dine with his clergy, and would wait upon him afterwards; but although the place was mean where they were to dine, at a poor inn, and the provision coarse and homely, yet he was contented to stay with them, rather than feast without them. When afterwards

he was approaching to the gates of this knight's house, the gates that stood open before were suddenly dasht together and shut up. He, and those with him, wondering what the matter meant, stood knocking a pretty while, and none would answer. Those that were with him desired his lordship to come away, and not to take this base affront; but he walked up and down before the gate a good while (above a quarter-of-an-hour), and said only this to his servants and those with him: 'They will hear ere long.' At length the gates that were bolted with pride, by humility are unlockt and flee open; and out comes this proud Sir, and with a hypocritical heart embraces his lordship, and brings him into his house, and with many complimental and fawning expressions entertains him, where he abode a very short space. He never met with such a piece of uncivility amongst the civilized papists in Italy, nor the barbarous papists in Ireland, but had an honorable reception wheresoever he came, as an angel of God.

His deportment amongst men of all sorts and converse with them, was not light and complimental, verbose, morose or frothy, always more prone and ready to hear what others said, than to vent his own judgment in anything, unless it were seriously desired: he let few of his words fall to the ground, like another Samuel.

This puts me mind what the Archbishop of Cashel*

* Dr. Archibald Hamilton.

told me of him, that being at the Earl of Strafford's table with many others of the clergy, one said, we are all talking, but my Lord of Kilmore saith nothing: to whom Dr. Usher, the Lord Primate said, "Broach him, and you will find good liquor in him." So the party asked him some question about faith, wherein the Bishop of Kilmore so puzzled him that all fell a-laughing, saving himself. And no man did ask him any more questions.

When others of his order were either galloping in their coaches, or prancing upon their vaporing stone-horses through the streets of Dublin, in Parliament time, he was never seen in a coach in city or country, nor a horse-back in the city; but walking with his servant after him, save when he rode *publiatus* in his scarlet robes in Parliament, or attended the Lord Deputy to church upon the Lord's day, as the manner of all prelates was in their pontificals, with all the temporal lords. His habit was grave, in a long stuff gown, not costly but comely; his stockings woollen; his shoes not much higher behind than before; his converse pleasant and profitable to all those that had to do with him.

His castle was furnished with things not superfluous, ornamental, and splendid; but good and necessary for common use. His table with plenty of good provision at all times; whereunto there was great resort, as to

a place of greatest hospitality in all that county; half an Irish beef a-week, besides other provision, a great part whereof was given to poor Irish families. At Christmas he had the poor Irish, as well as rich British (like another Nehemiah) to sit and feast about him, both men and women, that dwelt next unto him, that scarce had any whole clothes to their back, nor could understand a word of English, and were strangers to such civil and plentiful entertainment. Often the blessing of those that were ready to perish came upon him; and he made the heart of the widows to sing for joy, like another Job.

As my Lord Primate had engraven on his episcopal seal, *væ mihi nisi evangelizavero*, so that the Bishop of Kilmore had it written on his heart, by the finger of God, with this motto on his seal חסר מני כל בדילי *hasir minni col bedili*, ("take away from me all my tin"), over a flaming crucible or refining pot; piously and humbly alluding unto the Hebrew word *bedil* (that sounds so near his surname), which signifies "tin;"*

* At a quarterly meeting of the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute, held 4 Dec. 1848, the Rev. H. Hasted exhibited a deed, relative to an exchange of Charity Lands at Horningsheath, having an impression of this curious seal of the bishop attached to it. (See the *Proceedings* of the Institute, vol. i. p. 54, where will be found a representation of it.) And I discovered a very perfect impression of the same seal in Her Majesty's S. P. O., affixed to a letter which Bedell addressed to Laud on the 2nd June, 1629.

whereas his good name was like that good ointment, that did perfume the air of report, in which now it lies embalmed; and himself like the man, whom God hath said: *He will make more precious than fine gold, even such a man, than the golden wedge of Ophir. Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*

As he was holy and humble, just and merciful above many, so was he wise and valiant, stout and courageous for the truth. "The righteous are bold as a lion;" he feared no man's greatness; he feared no man's wickedness. His greatest foes are those of his own house, I mean some false brethren of his own order (that entered not in by the door into the sheepfold, as he did, but did climb up another way), that bred him all his sturt, because their own works were evil, and his good, like another Abel; yet he never shrunk from keeping faith and a conscience in the sight of God and of all men; his saying was often, *Fiat justitia et ruat cælum.*

When a minister came unto him for a license for four months' liberty, to give a visit to his friends in Scotland; together with the license, he gave him an Irish New Testament (to carry with him into those parts where the Irish tongue was used), upon which he wrote these words: "*Guilielmus Epus Kilmorens.*" and said, *Certo non me pudet hujus cognominis;* which he might very well say, being esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of that order, since its advancement

above its fellows. His license began thus: *Guilielmus providentiâ divinâ Kilmorens. Epus A.B. dilecto mihi in Chro fratri et synpsbitero salute, &c.*, which, when it was shewed to Mr. John Adamson, Provost of the College of Edinburgh, in the company of many ministers, that had been great sticklers for the Scottish covenant, and active in driving out their bishops, they were amazed at his Latin style (though it were but five or six lines on a bit of parchment), and that antiquated phrase of *fratri et synpresbitero:* But when they heard with great delight the description of him, according to this paper, they said with one mouth; "What have we done? If the king will give us such bishops as this, we will lay them upon our knees of him, with all our hearts." A. B. said unto them again: "Be ye yourselves such, and questionless the king will advance you into the room of those that you have so furiously driven out." He further said unto them, "Your bishops were learned men, great and constant preachers in all places of their residence amongst you; they exercised no jurisdiction over you, nor over the people; kept no Consistory Courts by lay-chancellors, to enslave you; had no power of ordination any more than any other minister in that classis or presbytery where their episcopal seat was; they were only presidents in your Synods, which ye have twice a-year in course; they never received a

penny of money for presentation, institution, induction, or visitation; or any orders whatsoever, or any from, or for them; they knew of no procurations, nor Synodals from the clergy, no more than the Apostolic Church did: they did you much good in Parliament; they often rescued your persons and tithes out of the paws of your lords and lairds, that otherwise had been too hard for you: And yet ye have dealt with them in a rage that reacheth up to heaven, and with all that took their part in Church and State, in city and country."

All they did reply was this: "That they had introduced a new form of public worship amongst them, which was never known since the Reformation, and that without a Synod, or General Assembly; and had urged and enforced it, on a sudden (under the greatest penalties), to be received and practiced; and that they were afraid it would take them off from the simplicity of the Gospel, and become a dead letter (as it was to many in England, that had nothing else to trust to, in many places, for the word of reconciliation, in the ministration of the Gospel); and that they knew not what might follow, when so many offices for the dead saints were advanced upon holy days, which had not been sounded in their ears for a hundred years and upwards: And the zeal of the common multitude of all sorts was vehement against it, at the very first, like a mighty

torrent, and irresistible, that carries all before it; which easily drew in the better and greater sort afterwards, though some might have other designs and projects before them (as in all such impetuous and tumultuous proceedings is unavoidable, when these are stripped with popularity and Christianity) about the bishops' lands, as they have gotten possession of almost all the crown-lands since king James came into England: and that the reception of that book, and conformity to it, would hardly make them better Christians, or more loyal subjects, nor contribute anything to the king's honor and profit, or their welfare, &c. *Quæ nos Dio neq' digniores, neq' indigniores possunt reddere,* saith Augustin" of ceremonies. This was the sum of all they said.

A. B. asked them: "But then, why do you meddle with England and Ireland, to promote your Reformation by your Covenant? since there is no country under heaven that stands in need of evangelical, nay of civil reformation more than the far greater part of your own country, that hath not as yet heard the sound of the Gospel; as namely, a greater part of Argyle's country, Badinoch, Lochaber, Knodard, Modard, Ferrim-domill, Stranaver, most of all the isles of Hebrides and Orcades, which are large territories, and many more of these of the most savage and barbarous Highlanders, that if at any time they come to hear a

sermon (which is very seldom) they come in their arms, with swords and targets, with their bows and dorlachs (a rough goat-skin with all the long hair upon it), or quivers full of barbed arrows (twenty or thirty arrows a-piece), and with a long gun in his hand, a great powder-horn about his neck, and none without a dirk or dagger (such as Ehud's) at his side, a short destroying weapon, if they fall out within doors, or anywhere. Doth this array become Christians on the Lord's day? And a hundred to one, but they shed some blood ere they part. To say nothing of their immodest and unseemly habit, and Irish, or rather Indian, manner of living, and continually spoiling and taking away the cattle of the civilized Scots that live in the lowlands, without regard to the laws of God or man.

"Is this (forsooth) the Church of Scotland that men call the 'Perfection of Beauty?' Is this nothing to all you that pass by, or rather swallow down these Scottish camels, and sadly strain at our English gnats? Do not these things cry louder in the ears of your Presbytery, nay in the ears of God himself (think ye) for reformation, or for wrath and vengeance, than a few English distinguishing-ceremonies, that no man puts any stress of religion upon, or would once think of them, if they were commanded off and cashiered by that Parliament authority that enjoins them, as things merely indifferent, and not so much for spiritual as for political ends?"

To all this discourse Mr. John Adamson said nothing material, only sighed and said: "The truth is, our first over-zealous reformers overthrew the churches; and that there was not a church in Scotland (save in some few cities and towns) but was erected within these fifty years; and that in Argyle and other places, the great men had all the tithes, and left the people to perish: For where there was neither church nor maintenance they could not expect the setting up the Gospel of Christ's kingdom, to bring in all that incultivate people out of the dungeon of darkness unto His marvellous light, that had not the Scriptures in their own language;" and so concluded his speech with the high commendation of that most worthy and renowned prelate, Dr. Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, and desire of his long continuance and flourishing in the Church of God; that was so singular a bright star, shining so eminently in it, and famous in his generation: As Dr. Bernard (that was his dean) concludes his short character of him, in these words: "If the moderation of this bishop "had been observed elsewhere, I believe episcopacy "might have been kept upon its wheels;" for when he heard of the tumults of Scotland (in '39), and the outrage against the bishops, in that hurricane, he said these words: "If for our sakes this great tempest is "risen, take us up, and cast us into the sea, that so "there may be a calm, like another Jonas," which were

uttered long before in a tumult at Alexandria between him and his clergy.

Though he did always triumph in Christ, who made manifest the savour of his knowledge by Him, in every place, without cauponizing, or making merchandize of the word of God (as many do), yet he did never stretch himself beyond his line (as the apostle speaks) ἀλλοτριο ἐπισκοπειν to take upon him the performance of any ministerial or episcopal duty in another parish or diocese, without license first had and obtained; and, therefore, when Leah, his wife's daughter, was to be married in Dublin to A[lexander] C[logy], the minister of Cavan, and they desired the marriage might be blessed by him, for his better defence against malcontent tongues, that it might be by the approbation of the Archbishop of Dublin, he wrote to Dr. Parry for a license out of the Consistory, November 23, 1637.

Thus having given you some brief account of his life, which was the life of the righteous, it remains that I give you satisfaction about his latter end and death—which was the death of the righteous also, and therefore precious in the sight of God, to which the grand and horrid Irish rebellion was antecedent, and in many ways preparatory; which began on Saturday, the twenty-third day of October, 1641. After a morning's mass that bloody and unparalleled massacre commenced.

And here I confess my frailty. I am at a stand, like a man astonished, and like a man that wine hath overcome, how to write or express anything of it, that is so beyond all expression (that was written in such large bloody characters, in one instant, *tanquam signo dato*, through all the parts of the kingdom of Ireland) without tears of blood, or a *quis talia fando*, or *quis cladem illius noctis (ubiq' luctus, ubiq' genitus, et plurima mortis imago)*; or, rather, with Jeremiah, *quis dabit capite meo lymphas, et oculis meis fontem aquarum, ut defleam noctes atq' dies confossos filiæ populi mei.* Certainly had he been raised from the dead, he had seen before him as ample matter of writing a second book of Lamentations in all the particulars thereof, as in his first: For the desolation and destruction of God's people by the old Chaldeans and Babylonians, that were but types and shadows of the new, only with this material difference, that the people of God had warning from God and man of their approaching danger, as the people of Nineveh had, by which they might have prevented and avoided it, from the old; but we had none to rescue us from the new Babylonians, no more than the cities that God overthrew, and no man pitched tents against them; as the Sicilian Vespers, and the massacre of Paris, *anno* 1573, by the same hand of Doeg the Edomite.

One day's warning might have saved thousands of

lives of poor innocents that knew not the right hand from the left. That bloody harlot, the mistress of witchcraft, was so drunk with the blood of saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, that she made no discovery of the design, as Delilah did often to Sampson ere he lost his hair; but surprised us (whilst our watchmen and sentinels were buried in sleep and security, or wrangling together and sadly falling out upon the main guard) with swift destruction, by rapine, fire, and sword, without the sound of a trumpet or the alarms of war; destruction upon destruction was cried; for the whole land was spoiled: suddenly were our tents spoiled, and our curtains in a moment!

There were no people under heaven lived in a more flourishing state and condition, for peace and plenty of all things desirable in this life, when, on a sudden, we were turned out of house and hold, and stript of all outward enjoyments, and left naked and bare in the winter, and on the Sabbath day put to flight that had no place to flee to for refuge. The land that a little before was like the garden of Eden was speedily turned into a desolate wilderness. *Horresco referens, quod animus meminissa horret, luctuq' refugit.* We soon forgat prosperity when we fell into the hands of brutish men and skilful to destroy. O! the multitude of cries that went up to heaven that are joined with the loud cries of the souls under the altar. (Rev. vi. 9, 10.)

You will say, certainly, our sins were great that opened the bottomless pit against us, and brought up the frogs of Egypt upon us, the old barbarous Irish, and the old degenerate English of the Pale.* Truly sin, and sin only hath a great influence upon the ruins of persons, countries, and kingdoms; and if God did not overthrow it sometimes, no person nor kingdom could stand one moment; as all persons and kingdoms do know by comfortable experience. And by diligent search and inquisition into our ways, the iniquity of Sodom might be found in Ireland (as in the very letter of it, it was found in some of our leading watchmen), with pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness in her, and in her daughters *(tantæ calamitatis causa, eadem quæ omnium nimia felicitas)*. Neither did she strengthen the heart or hand of the poor and needy Irish, by using any means for their reduction, from the error of their way and conversion to Jesus Christ, but rather indulging them by cursed tolerations in their abominable idolatries, barbarity, and filthiness, to their

* The territory called "the Pale" comprehended the county of Louth in the province of Ulster, and the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, in the province of Leinster. Prior to the rebellion of 1641, the people of the Pale had always prided themselves on their loyalty to the crown of England; but being abandoned at this time by the executive of Dublin, and without the necessary means of defence, they were forced to confederate with the rebels, not only to save their property, but also their lives.

destruction, which proved ours at last; when every parish was allowed a popish priest, every diocese a titular bishop, every city and county colleges and convents of jesuits and friars, and of all orders of Roman colonies, as if they had been kept up of set purpose to plant England and Scotland with such strange slips, when time and opportunity should serve them, which they made no doubt of was then come. Whereas, whenever the Roman paganish yoke came of old, and was received and submitted unto, it left still the ancient Roman civility in habit, life, laws, language, and religion behind it; and so filing off the rudeness of the nations, made way to the present admission of and cheerful submission to the sweet and easy yoke of Jesus Christ. And that in six hundred years, specially from the glorious Reformation, nothing should be done for the poor Irish, and these old ragged Gibeonites have no benefit by our plentiful and rich clothing under the Gospel of Christ's righteousness; but given over to vile affections, strong delusions and a reprobate sense, to animate them once in forty years to rebel and destroy all the English plantations. Of all calamities and darknesses, the most fearful is that of the mind, and in the destination of the Church produceth saddest effects, to make men reap whatsoever they sow, and to eat the fruit of their doings.

And though I be no prophet, nor no prophet's son,

in that sense that Amos was, yet God having given me my life for a prey, that hath been in innumerable dangers and hazards, as a brand pluckt out of the burning, and delivered me from the mouth of the lion, I have too much reason to believe, that about that fatal period of the expiring of forty years (which is their constant Irish Jubilee, wherein they kill, and take possession, till by a new conquest they are dispossessed) after the date of '41, they will be as ready and every way fitted to rebel, and to destroy all our labors, colonies, and people as ever they were, unless there be some more effectual course taken by our English policy to prevent it, than hitherto hath been made apparent to the world. All our former victories over them being but like Hercules his fightings with the monster Hydra, who, when he cut off one head, two did spring up in the place of it.

The saying of old Pontius, the prince of the Samnites, to his son is very remarkable (who having got his enemies the Romans into a pound, *in furnis caudinis*, where they could neither fight nor flee, dismissed them *sub jugo*) : *Turpis victoria, quæ nec facit amicos, nec tollit inimicos;* having advised his son either to kill them all, or dismiss them honorably (as the king of Israel did the Syrians, by Elisha's advice, when he had them at his mercy), who doing neither, but taking a middle course, ruined himself and his country. None of our

English victories, that our chronicles swell with, have ever yet diminished our Irish and Popish enemies, or made them our friends to this day, any more than when the Lord Strongbow, earl of Chepstow, invaded Ireland, *anno* 1169.

The late usurper, Oliver Cromwell, transplanted the heads of the rebels into the province of Connaught for a little while, whence they have swarmed and issued forth since into all parts of the kingdom, *tanquam ex equo trojano*, to watch their opportunity, and to take the first advantage: But though that was more than all the lawful princes that were before him ever did, yet even then, when in their proud swelling words of vanity, they would advance Christ's kingdom to the gates of Rome, as St. Peter's was wont to brag, (as the duke of Bourbon once did—*anno* 1526—when he led the Pope in triumph through the streets, with his face towards an ass's tail) they never attempted to send the Gospel unto them (in their divided notion), translated into their own language, or the setting up of any schools amongst them for the education of their children, to translate them from darkness to light.

But though our sins were great in this, and many more particulars, that might justly open the cataracts of heaven, and bring down the sad deluge of God's wrath upon us, yet our Saviour tells us in the destruction of the Galileans by Herod, and of the inhabitants

of Jerusalem, by the fall of an old tower (both which were sudden accidents) that none of these unexpectedly and suddenly-ruined ones were greater sinners than others that were free from them.

But besides all this, there was a sadder conjunction of planets, I mean a concurrence of stranger acts of divine providence, than was ever observed before in our sky or horizon, or I hope shall be again to the end of the world; all which sad aspects did seem to portend and prognosticate our imminent and unavoidable ruin, and at once, as it were, to conspire against poor Ireland.

For first *(quod caput est)*, our vigilant vice-roy, the Earl of Strafford being called away,* and committed to the Tower of London, was executed a little before

* The earl was summoned to England at the end of March 1640, to head the British army and oppose the advance of the Scots in the northern counties. He suffered on Tower-hill, 12 May 1641. How utterly unprepared Strafford was for the rebellion in that year may be judged from the following passage in the last letter which he dictated to Charles I., on the eve of taking his departure from Ireland:—"In few words, Sire, your person and authority here is infinitely honored and reverenced: this people abundantly comforted and satisfied in your justice, set with exceeding alacrity to serve the crown the right way in these doubtful times, and much trusting and believing us, your majesty's poor ministers. All this in as high a measure as your own princely heart can wish. And if all this be not literally true, let the shame be mine, so wretchedly to have misinformed your majesty." (Strafford's *Letters*, ii. 202.)

(May the 11th) his deputy, Christopher Wandesford (to whom he had delegated his power in his absence) found dead suddenly in his chamber, after he had torn a leaf out of the Parliament book. Our king wholly taken up with his Scottish affairs, and state concerns at Edinburgh, and endeavoring, *motos componere fluctus*, he ready to gratify the Scots in anything that they could rationally desire, if they would but keep within their own sphere, and not to pass their own border, in intermeddling with the English concernments in Church and State. The Parliament of England very high in carrying on an universal Reformation of all orders of men, that were thought to have corrupted their ways before them, *sed excessit medicina modum.*

Over Ireland two justices (aged and decrepit gentlemen that had served Queen Elizabeth in the wars with the Earl of Tyrone and Tyrconnell), Sir William Parsons and Sir John Burlasy; and, which is sadder than all these, many justices of peace, more than ever before, and most, if not all the high-sheriffs in Ireland, at that time Irish-Jesuited-papists, and the whole *posse-comitatus* put in their bloody hands.

I am sure the high-sheriff of the county of Cavan was so, Mulmore O'Reilly, a desperate young fellow, of a small fortune and of the parish of Kilmore; and the high-sheriff of the next county to it (namely, of the county of Monoghan) one Mr. Fitzgerald, who

married a widow, one Mistress Killet of the parish of Kilmore. This widow was left by her husband in money and goods worth £2000, and had as many suitors from city and country as was ever known in those parts; but she chose this man (to her destruction), being a proper person (though of vilest inwards of any in the country), and promised to marry him on condition of forsaking his popery, and coming to church with her; both which he did, and made an open confession of the faith of Christ, in opposition to the faction of anti-Christ, in the cathedral of Kilmore, where the bishop married them and administered the sacrament unto them, and made them dine with him a few weeks before the Rebellion.

But this Sagamore before that time had driven away all her cattle, and forsaken her, and returned to his vomit; and then having seized upon all she had in the field and in the house, turned her away stript, and her three children (that she had by her first husband) without any pity or compassion; and he and his old squaw lived together afterwards, as they had done in filthiness before; and his poor wife having got to Dublin, in much misery, and of famine (with all her children), as thousands did there, that had escaped with the skin of their teeth from all parts of the kingdom.

This dolorous story I mention, because I knew all this, *ut crimine ex uno*, you may know what these

brutish men will do for the advancement of "the catholic cause" (as they call it), to whom nothing is unlawful, that Satan, or their own lusts and interests can suggest, as their *Congregatio de propagandâ fide* doth daily declare, *Quod volumus, sanctum est;* and according to that jesuitical and atheistical maxim of their's, *Frons vulgi, cor privati.*

So that by this conspiracy (as it were) of all those sad emergencies in that juncture of time, and hour of temptation for poor Ireland, the little flock of Jesus Christ was left as sheep in the midst of these ravening wolves to be worried and destroyed at the first snap; and if the Lord (that in wrath remembreth mercy) had not left us a very small remnant, we had been as Sodom, we had been like unto Gomorrah.

For how easy a matter was it for sixty armed men to have surprised the castle of Dublin at any time, the gate whereof was kept by an old, poor fellow alone; where Queen Elizabeth's magazine (since Tyrone's Rebellion was quashed) for 40,000 men was kept. But that the Lord rebuked them, and the seed of the woman crusht the serpent's head, the very day before the intended massacre, in stirring up the spirit of a renegado, one O'Connelly (whom I knew) to acquaint the Lords Justices with their great and imminent danger, and of all the kingdom's: though they scarce believed a drunken fellow, speaking rather out of

discontent than love to them, yet they gave order to draw up the bridge before the castle gate, and let down the port-cullisses, and sent to the mayor of the city to take a band of men with him, and to search the Globe Tavern over against the castle gate, where he found all the conspirators against the castle, and brought in Mc Guire and Mc Mahon, the two leaders of the Ulster rebels, and laid them in irons and sent them to London (by Capt. Cozby, of the parish of Cavan), where they received the first part of their judgment, that sometimes goes before, the small torment, of presumptuous murderers and malefactors. All their strength and hope lay in the surprisal of this place, without which they had neither arms for horse or foot, nor ammunition. For, in the Earl of Strafford's time, no man in Ireland of whatsoever degree could have above 10 lbs. weight of powder at once, and that out of the castle, by order in writing.

And in full assurance of their attacking of this place of strength, they had persuaded and prevailed with the old degenerate English of the Pale to join with them, which they never did before in any former rebellion; but by long continuance amongst them, and conjugal affinity with them, becoming Irish in their habit, language, rude manner of living, and religion, at last became Irish also in their affections and actions with the old barbarous Irish, and as merciless enemies as any the English found.

They gave out at first that they had orders from the king to meddle only with the English, whereunto Sir James Craig replied: "That he would never believe, nor any Christian man, that the king will command his left hand to cut off his right." Sometimes they said, they had orders long before, from their imprisoned deputy, to cause a diversion for his relief and enlargement. But nobody regarded what they said, that (by divine permission) did what they pleased against God and man. Indeed, the deputy's hand was esteemed heavy upon them, when he caused twelve of the principal men of the English Pale to stand upon a scaffold, with papers upon their heads, in the streets of Dublin, for not concurring (it was said) to some desired and expected verdict. But so it was esteemed also upon the English, as the Earl of Cork, the Lord Mount Norris, the Lord Chancellor Loftus, and others felt; but his wrath was greatest against the Scots, especially after their confederacy against prelacy, and invading of England with their armies. In detestation of whose presumptuous proceedings, he caused a declaration to be penned very sharply and severely, and to be sent throughout the whole kingdom of Ireland; wherein certain commissioners were named that should administer an oath of abjuration to all the Scots, to cause them renounce all correspondence with their brethren in Scotland, or desire, or intention of

conjunction with them, in their oath of conjuration, in reference to their national League and Covenant: For the refusing of which oath, Mr. James Stewart, (brother to the long-imprisoned Lord Ockiltry in the Castle of Blackness), with his wife and three daughters, were brought up from Ulster, and imprisoned in Dublin; where I gave them a visit, and they shewed me letters from Mr. Samuel Rutherford and other chief sticklers in their Covenant, to comfort them in their durance, and strengthen them against the abjuration; as if, with the primitive martyrs, they had suffered for the word of God and testimony of Jesu, under the paganish and persecuting emperors.

It was sad in the Church of God, when they were sworn to one thing on the one side of the water of division, that parts Scotland and Ireland, and the quite contrary on the other, under the same God and king, and possession of the same religion, as of old, *altare contra altare*, and Synods and Anti-Synods in the Greek Church, for a long time, till they were all ruined as at this day.

But the title the Rebels stuck to at last was this, That they were the Queen's Catholic Army. But they behaved themselves so cruelly, that it was more likely they had their commission from Athaliah or Jezebel; or rather from her that sits upon a scarlet-colored beast, that saith in her heart: "I sit as a Queen, and

am no widow, and shall see no sorrow"; whose paramour is the angel of the bottomless pit; whose name is Abaddon and Apollyon. (Rev. ix. 11.)

And for a whole month's time, or thereabouts, they meddled not with the Scots, though they had driven out all the English that were in the fields or in unwalled villages, that had no resting place; as thinking it too hazardous to engage two such potent nations at once, till they had first dispatcht one.

In our county of Cavan there was no fortification at all; nor in the counties of Leitrim, Monoghan, Longford, and Fermanagh (save only the island of Inniskellin, where Sir William Cole secured himself); though my Lord Lambert was bound by his patent from King James to build a citadel at Cavan, and a wall of defence against a sudden storm; yet so great was the carelessness and insecurity of those days (as in the days of Noah and Lot) that nothing was done; only two Scottish knights, Sir James Craig and Sir Francis Hamilton, being moved with fear and prudence, had built themselves two arks, or small castles, for the safety of their respective families, upon their several proportions of lands; which being within view and near to each other, (within a mile) preserved above a thousand English and Scots from the present fury and rage of those wild beasts that were skilful to destroy.

But when Antrim sent and fetcht his cousin, Col. Kiltach, from the Isles of Scotland, with his Mc Donels, being of the same family of *Soarly-burg* with him, the vizard of partition between English and Scots was quite removed; for Col. Kiltach ("the left-handed Colin,") his bloody two-handed sword made no difference: Yea, those English and Scottish papists that were fled into Ireland, that they might have popery to the full of their lusts, till they surfeited upon it, and until it came out of their nostrils again, and became loathsome unto them, while it was yet between their teeth (as sweet as the quails were to the lustful Israelites) ere it was well chewed, the wrath of God fell upon them also, as well as upon the Protestants at first; for they found no favour at last, like the answer which the Duke of Medina Sydonia gave in this case in '88: "That his sword knew no difference between a catholic and a heretick; but that he came to make way for his master."

To evidence this, there was a pretty gentleman, of a good family in England, called Mr. Poole, that brought a good stock of money, and other goods with him, a year or two before the Rebellion (when God seemed to begin to make inquisition for blood, and to disclose bloody popery, that she might no more cover her slain in these three kingdoms), and a Scottish gentleman called the laird of Forsyth, that was forced out of

Scotland upon that account, that lived not far from Kilmore, yet they were turned out of all, they, their wives and children, for all their popery; the Irish hatred being greater against the English nation than their religion.

This Mr. Forsyth was upon the point of renouncing popery a little before the Rebellion; for many papers in matters of religion had passed between the Bishop of Kilmore and him, which had given him full satisfaction; and he was persuaded not only almost, but altogether to become a Christian. But, being prevented by that sudden storm, he durst not make so fair a retreat out of the camp of Anti-Christ into the camp of Jesus Christ, as he intended, for fear of his life and unavoidable ruin of his whole family, that was brought to beg a morsel of bread of the enemy.

The Scots then throughout all the province of Ulster, where they were most numerous, betook themselves to holds, leaving all the open country to the enemy; for the first attempt of Col. Kiltach had so frighted them, that they thought no man was able to stand before that son of Anak. In his first encounter with a few Irish Highlanders and some of Antrim's Irish rebels (that were brethren in evil) against eight hundred English and Scots, having commanded these murderers to lay down all their fire-arms, he fell in amongst them (with swords and dirks, or sceanes) in such a furious and

irresistible manner, that it was reported that not a man of them escaped of all the eight hundred; the first and greatest loss in battle that we sustained in all that war, save one in Munster, under the unhappy conduct of Sir Charles Vavasour; whereupon the rebels rode in triumph, with their swords drawn, through the streets of Kilkenny, as if they had conquered all England. After this sad blow, the English and Scots in Ulster had ten thousand men sent them from Scotland by order of the Parliament of England, under the conduct of Major General Monro, an old officer of the King of Swedes in Germany, who lay in Carrigfergus, Belfast, Munsyne, Coleraine, the Newry, Dundalk, and other towns upon the sea coast; but little or nothing worth the mentioning was ever done or attempted by them (though in a plentiful country they were well-nigh famished), save of a few men that my Lord Moore borrowed from the garrison of Dundalk, under the command of Capt. Boniman, in his last exploit against the rebels at Fortlester, where he was slain by a cannon-bullet of six pound weight, which beat him from his horse, and struck off the back part of his armour. I saw it taken out of his body, being much spent (by grazing) ere it came thither, Sept. 11, 1643.

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This Lord Moore was a most noble and worthy person, valiant for the truth, and exceeding bountiful to the

soldiers for their encouragement, and long bemoaned by all that knew him: We buried his bowels in that place; and though we had left our commander-in-chief, and Col. Lawrence Crawford (that afterwards was slain before Hereford in '45), being the eldest chief officer, took the command of our forces, and immediately faced the enemy; yet they kept their fastness, and would not engage, so we marcht off next day with my Lord Moore's body, to his house at Mellifont, within two miles of Drogheda.

When the game turned, and our friends became our foes, and our foes our friends, this Monro was surprised in his garrison of Carrigfergus, and in bed with his lady, by Col. George Monck (after his conjunction with Owen Raw O'Neale, the general of the rebels, by order of the junto at Westend), and sent to the Tower of London, where he had time enough allowed him to learn more vigilancy, till the King's restoration enlarged him.

This Col. Kiltach, having done as much mischief as he could in Ulster, was afterwards, with his bloody followers, the greatest part of Montrose his strength in all his first expeditions, and the greatest blood-shedder; who having revolted from the Covenanters (as was supposed and reported), because he was not chose Lieut. General under Leslie, in his second expedition into England, in 1644, he began strenuously

to destroy that which he had not long before pretended to build up under the victorious banner of the Covenant; this Col. Kiltach, with his cousin, Sir Alexander Mc Donnell, brother to the Earl of Antrim, was afterwards slain in Munster by the English forces, under the happy conduct of my Lord of Brockill, and Inchiquin, (if I mistake not) at the battle of Lyskarrol.

But to return to the point whence my pen hath digressed, after those things that lay in my way, lest I should forget the thing that you desired principally to know—What is become of the good bishop in all this storm and heavy tempest that fell upon us, and took away from us (as once from Paul) all hope that we should be saved, in causing our sun to go down while it was yet day? For if the righteous scarcely be saved from such evils, that are snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them, what is the faithful shepherd doing when his sheep are scattered from their pastures, and torn in pieces, and their flesh given to be meat for the fowls of the air and to the beasts of the field, and none to bury or deliver them?

Surely what Jeremiah the prophet did in the like case of the destruction of God's people by Old Babylon, he spends his time in prayer and tears before the Lord with that little remnant that had escaped, though poor and desolate. He receives all that came unto him for refuge, as another Gedaliah, and tells them, as David

said to Abiathur, that fled from Saul's massacre of the priests of the land: "Abide with me, fear not, for he that seeketh my life seeketh your life; with me ye shall be in safeguard as long as I am safe."

And, indeed, God was a little sanctuary to him, and caused the enemy to entreat him well in the day of his calamity, and the desolation of God's people: For the Lord protected him, and his family, and children, and servants, from all personal violence; and did so still the enemy and avenger, that none was ever suffered to do his person any harm, or to touch any of his for their hurt: He was *mediis tranquillus in mediis*, as Noah in his ark; as if that of the apostle had been immediately spoken unto them: "And who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?" Or as if the slaughter-master had given special order concerning him, as Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldean destroyer, did to Nebuzaradan concerning Jeremiah in the like case: "Take him and look well to him (Heb. 'set thine eyes upon him,') and do him no harm; but do to him as he shall say to thee:" "He trusted in the name of the Lord, and stayed himself upon his God," as David did (when after the spoil of Ziklag by the Amalakite) when they spake of storming him. He was in nothing terrified by his adversaries; but desired, that as always, so now also, Christ should be manifested in his body, whether by life or by death.

The rebels told him that he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland: Such is the praise and reward of virtue even amongst the very enemies of it, and in the worst of times. His episcopacy being accompanied not only with those general and common good advantages of charity, meekness, integrity, good example in all things; but with the special furtherance which his calling and place, in Church, or State, or family, could give it; whereby this holy man of God, being precious in God's sight, became honorable amongst the worst of men, as an angel of God, who sought the things of Jesus Christ above many.

He was the only Englishman in all the county of Cavan that was permitted to stay under his own roof. There was but little spare room in his castle, which was no ways fencible against the least violent assault, and the poor stript people, that had plenty of all earthly accommodations but a little before, were now content to lodge in the out-buildings, in the church,*

* The church in which the persecuted Protestants found a temporary refuge no longer exists. The old cathedral, or rather parish church of Kilmore, which was nothing more than a square room, with a flat ceiling and a narrow gallery, and quite inadequate for the accommodation of the inhabitants, was superseded last year by a more imposing and convenient structure. The new cathedral church, which has been specially designed for a monument to the good bishop, was commenced in the year 1858, and was consecrated on the 17th July 1860. Its

or church-yard, in heaps of straw or hay, and to feed upon boiled wheat, or whatsoever the enemy had left, that could not so suddenly consume so great plenty as was every where to be found. When Mistress Moigne, that was his predecessor's widow, a venerable matron, came thither in the habit of the poorest beggar (where she had lived many years in great state before), and one Mr. Hodson (that was rector of Belturbet) and his wife stript out of all; he could not look upon them with dry eyes, but fetcht them all the clothes he had in the world (save what was on his back), and gave it them. This Mr. Hodson is now Bishop of Elphin, as I am informed.*

The Scripture he preached upon in that saddest sabbath that ever Ireland saw, was the whole third Psalm; which was penned by David when there was

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style is middle-pointed, and the plan cruciform, with a massive central tower. The inscription on the tympanum over the west door is borrowed in part from the bishop's tombstone, in the adjoining church-yard: *Gulielmi Bedelli, quondam Kilmorensis Episcopi, in memoriam.* This grateful tribute to one whose memory is still most affectionately cherished by every class of persons in the diocese, was erected under the auspices of Dr. M. G. Beresford, the present excellent bishop of Kilmore, Elphin, and Ardagh, who was assisted in his pious work by private benefactors, and a grant from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

* Dr. John Hodson. At the Restoration he became Dean of Clogher, and was promoted to the see of Elphin 8th Sept. 1667. He died 18th Feb. $168\frac{5}{7}$, æt 77.

a general conspiracy and insurrection of his people against him, under the command of his unnatural son, Absolom, when he least dreamed it: the next Lord's day on Mic. vii. 8, 9, 10.

"Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy! when I fall I shall rise again; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me: I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me; he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness; then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her, that said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God?"

All these verses he preached upon in those dark and gloomy days, and the Sabbath following, to an afflicted and poor people, that with Rachel, weeping for her children, refused to be comforted; that after sermon used to return to their habitations with joy and comfort to eat the fat and drink the sweet, and now had no place (with our Saviour) to lay their head on; whom God began to feed with the bread of tears, and to give them tears to drink in great measure, whilst the blasphemous enemy said insultingly, "Where is now your Protestant God?"

Thus he continued, like a man standing in the breach between the dead and the living, to make an atonement for them, like another Aaron; and like

the man Jeremiah calls for in the like case; or him that Ezekiel seeks for in the same case; one that sighs and cries for all the abominations that were done in the midst of Ireland, until the 18th day of December following; where though we got our bread daily, with the perils of our lives, and were pressed about of measure above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life, and had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God who raiseth the dead, and did deliver us from so great a death: Yet (by the blessing of God) we had liberty without interruption in all the public and private duties of religion to converse with God; and in everything with prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, to make our case and requests known unto Him; that can speak a word in due season to a weary soul, and turn him to the prayer of the destitute at last. Then began we to prize Gospel-ordinances more than when we enjoyed them in peace and plenty; whereas now we waited upon God in them in great danger, and want of all things.

Whilst we enjoyed this little halcyon-tranquillity amongst those surges of proud waves of iniquity, all the rebels were at a stand, and began to repent of what they had so rashly began, and knew not what to do, when they understood that the castle of Dublin had taken the two Ulster-lords, Mac Guiver and Mac Mahon,

that were entrusted to take it, where all their armoury was; and that they had as yet received neither commanders nor arms from Spain (according to their agreement and daily expectation); nor had any other but what they had found amongst the train-bands and scattered troops, whom they had surprised in their quarters in most places. The heads of them in the counties of Cavan and Monaghan made their addresses to my Lord of Kilmore, humbly entreating him to mediate a reconciliation for them, promising immediately to lay down their arms and to restore the remnant of the surviving English to their former possessions and goods as much as lay in them.

And, indeed, it was more than probable that their intention was real, having no hopes left them in heaven or earth, but in the fatal divisions betwixt the King and Parliament; which was all their stay and strength to the end of the war. They knew also, that a thousand horse and dragoons might have marcht through the breadth and length of Ireland without interruption; they having for the most part but clubs and staves and unfixt arms, without powder or match, and no shipping at all: Wherefore my Lord of Kilmore wrote their words and sent them by a special messenger of their own, a chief rebel, to the Lords Justices, Parsons and Burlasy, the true copy whereof is as followeth:—

"The Humble Remonstrance of the Gentry

" and Commonalty of the county of Cavan,
" of their grievances, common with other
" parts of this Kingdom of Ireland.

" To the Right Honorable the Lords Justices and
" Council.

" Whereas we his Majesty's loyal subjects,
" of his Highness's kingdom of Ireland, have, of long
" time groaned under many grievous pressures, occa-
" sioned by the rigorous government of such placed
" over us, as respected more the advancement of their
" own private fortunes, than the honor of his Majesty,
" or the welfare of us his subjects; whereof we, in
" humble manner, declared ourselves to his Highness,
" by our agents, sent from the Parliament, the repre-
" sentation body of this kingdom; notwithstanding
" which, we find ourselves of late threatened with far
" greater and more grievous vexations, either with
" captivity of our consciences, our losing of our lawful
" liberties, or utter expulsion from our native seats,
" without any just ground given, on our parts, to alter
" his Majesty's goodness so long continued to us; of
" all which we find great cause of fears in the pro-
" ceedings of our neighbour nations, and do see it
" already attempted upon by certain petitions for the
" like course to be taken in this kingdom, for the
" effecting thereof in a compulsory way; so as rumours
" have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the

" dissolving the bond of mutual agreement, which " hitherto hath been held inviolable between the " several subjects of this kingdom, and whereby all " other his Majesty's dominions have been brickt in " one.

" For the preventing, therefore, of such evils grow- " ing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the " preservation of his Majesty's honor, and our own " liberties, thought fit to take into our hands, for his " Highness's use and service, such forts and other " places of strength, as coming into the possession of " others, might prove disadvantageous and tend to the " utter undoing of the kingdom. And, we do hereby " declare, that herein we harbour not the least thought " of disloyalty towards his Majesty, or purpose any " hurt to his Highness's subjects, in their possessions, " goods, or liberties, only we desire that your Lord- " ships will be pleased to make Remonstrance to his " Majesty for us, of all our grievances and just fears, " that they may be removed; and such a course settled " by the advice of the Parliament of Ireland, whereby " the liberty of our consciences may be secured to us, " and we eased of other burthens in civil government. " As for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have " already happened through the disorder of the common " sort of people against the English inhabitants, or any " other, we, with the noblemen and gentlemen, and

"such others, of the several counties of this kingdom "are most willing and ready to use our, and their best "endeavours in causing restoration and satisfaction to "be made, as, in part, we have already done.

"An answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with "such present expedition, as may by your Lordships "be thought most convenient for avoiding the incon- "veniency of the barbarousness and incivility of the "commonalty, who have committed many outrages "without any order, consenting, or privity of ours. "All which we leave to your Lordships most gracious "wisdom, and shall humbly pray, &c."*

This Remonstrance was subscribed by many chief leaders of the Irish, as namely by Philip O'Reily, that married the Earl of Ormonde's mother, and commanded the county in chief; by Mulmore O'Reily, the high-sheriff; by Edmond O'Reily his father; and Philip, brother to Edmond, that was the most cunning artificer of them all; and by many others that I did see subscribe to it, whose names have long ago perished with them out of my memory.

* The share that Bishop Bedell had in the preparation of this disgraceful document is the most perplexing feature in his biography. Most probably, he was coerced into drawing it up. In no other way is it possible to account for his apparent disloyalty. Both the original "Remonstrance" and the fitting rebuke or "Reply" of the Lords Justices—Sir William Parsons and Robert, Lord Dillon (not Burlasy, as Clogy states)—are preserved in H. M. State Paper Office.

By all this you see what their present desperate condition did suggest, and what account they made of my Lord Bishop of Kilmore, whom they kept for a reserve, or intercessor in time of need, and for the last bit, having seized upon all his horses at the very first, and a hundred of his sheep.

Meantime, the titular Bishop, Dr. Swiney (whose brother the Bishop of Kilmore had long entertained in his house, and at his table, and had converted him from the error of his way, from Jesuitism to Christianity, and preferred to a way of livelihood) intends to put a jesuitical trick upon my Lord of Kilmore, by offering himself to become his protector, keeper, and defender, from all hostility and violence in person and goods, that thus he might attain to a peaceable possession of the bishop's house, and of all belonging to him, ere it was scattered by the rebels; and that he might drive away the poor afflicted souls that were about him in great numbers, and knew not whither to go for refuge in the depth of winter; and withal that he might set up the abomination of desolation in the church of Kilmore next Lord's day. But my lord understanding his wicked design, by this excellent epistle that follows, declined it.

Reverendo in Christo fratri Eugenio Guilielmus Kilmorensis Ecclesiæ Minister. S. P.

Benigne tu quidem (Reverende frater) qui tuâ præ-

sentiâ, te mihi offers in hoc tumultu, præsidio fore. Nec ego in re simili, impar tibi, in hoc charitatis officio deprehenderer. Sed quo minus hoc tuo beneficio utar in presentiâ, multis impedior. In primis loci angustiis, tum calamitosorum omnis ordinis, sexus, ætatis, numero; qui huc tanquam ad Asylum confugiunt. Accedit quorundam et inter hos Filii mei invaletudo. Quod caput est, non Religionis inter nos (unica nempe ea est et communis Christiana, quod ego semper et sensi et scriptis professus sum) sed cultus disparitas: nos nempe in ejusmodi miseriis, lectione Sacrarum Scriptuarum, precibus assiduis Lingua Vernacula ut Deum fusis, nos ipsos solamur; et quando in humanis tam parum Fidei est, Fidem et Opem Divinam imploramus. Ea res si non te, at comites tuos offenderet, nec prohiberi possent, qui te hic commorantem visitare se velle dicerent: Quo prætextu circumcelliones isti irrumperent, qui cum cætera omnia nostra deripuerunt, ad extremum, se nece nostra cultum Deo gratum exhibituros opinantur. Mihi igitur certum est in divino præsidio acquiescere, christiano homini et quidem Episcopo jam pene Septuagenario, Christi causa, nulla mors acerba esse potest, nulla non oppetenda. Interea si quid tibi visum fuerit interdicere apud populum sub anathemate; ne deinceps, concussis, spoliatis, toties exutis vim adferant, (mihi nempe soli nihil posco) rem facies Deo gratam, tibi honorificam, populo isti (si

tibi obtemperaverit) salutarem; sin minus, at sperate Deum memorem. Cui te, reverende Frater, ex animo commendo.

Tuus in Christo,

Nov. 11, 1641. G. KILMORENSIS.

To my Reverend and Loving Brother,
Dr. Swiney, deliver these at Cavan.

Did ever Polycarpus at Smyrna, or Ignatius of Antioch, or any other of the famous bishops and martyrs of the primitive Church, who had their Father's name written on their foreheads, *i.e.*, that made an open confession of the faith of Christ crucified, come nearer to Him, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, and shew a greater contempt of the world, and of death itself, under the cruel persecution of the pagans, than this our magnanimous confessor and blessed martyr of Jesus declareth in this short and pithy epistle, under the cruelty of the bloody papists? whose hatred of, and cruelty of all sorts, against the people of God, doth as far exceed that of their elder brother the pagan, as they may find one day (if God be true) that the torments of hell, and those everlasting burnings prepared for dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolators, and for whosoever loveth and maketh a lie, (for popery is nothing else but a great and presumptuous lie against the true God, and truth of God,

contained in the Scriptures of Truth, and every particular of it) are above those of their popish purgatory; and they that follow him that was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, may justly expect to be ranged with him, and to suffer as murderers, unless they repent of the works of their hands; that worship devils and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood; which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk, and of their murders, of their sorceries, and of their fornication, and of their thefts, *nec turba Deorum talis ut est hodie.*

The loud cry of all the saints, under the tyranny of the damnable hierarchy of anti-Christ, being that of Jeremiah: "I have heard a voice as of a woman in "travail, and the anguish of her that bringeth forth "her first child, the voice of the daughter of Zion that "bewaileth herself, and spreadeth forth her hands, "saying, Woe is me now, my soul is wearied because "of the murderers"; which was as sadly and truly verified of poor Ireland (that no man seeks after for her present consolation—whose breach is wide like the sea—or future preservation) as ever it was of afflicted Zion, when she was tossed with tempests, and not comforted. Dr. Bernard writes, that there were 154,000 murdered in the province of Ulster only, by the enemys own confession and gloriation; so that the expression of Daniel may be used here: "That under

the whole heaven hath not been done, as hath been done upon" Ireland (Dan. ix. 12).

Now this rational and religious epistle (being the last that my Lord of Kilmore wrote) stayed the titular for that time from intruding upon him in that hour of temptation, or giving him, or any of his, any further disturbance till the 18th day of December following.

In the interim, one Mistress Dillon, a worthy gentlewoman (wife to Luke Dillon, Esquire, a justice of the peace for the county of Cavan), that was of the parish of Kilmore, and a constant hearer of my lord's, sent to him for some spiritual support in her great affliction, her husband being a popish rebel.

This Mistress Dillon had been the wife and widow of a rich London merchant, whose name was Hartlib, and was found out by Mr. Dillon, a younger son of the Earl of Roscommon in Ireland, a proper gentleman, and bred at the Inns of Court. She never once questions his religion (being at the Inns of Court, and his eldest brother, my Lord Dillon, having openly renounced popery, and being a privy councillor, and sometimes one of the two justices that ruled all); which he had craft enough to conceal till he had caught the bird; but marries him according to the book, in her own parish, by her own minister. In all these things, for his own ends, this jesuited gentleman condescends unto her, but was never in church before

with her, nor after; at which surprisal she was sore dejected and afflicted, and never saw a good day afterwards; that without mature deliberation or inquisition was thus rashly circumvented to her undoing, and that by a popish Irishman. This I mention, that Christian women may learn to ask what religion their love is of before their espousals.

This gentleman, after he had disposed of all that she had, at his pleasure, brings her unto a very small estate in a little island, called Trinity Island, and builds a house within a mile and a half of Kilmore, and gives her full liberty to go to church with her two daughters by her first husband, that were good women and married to two Scots that were brothers, Penelope the elder to Major Bayly, that commanded the standing foot company of Scots, that lay at Cavan before the wars; the other, to his brother William, that was a minister in the diocese of Kilmore, and afterwards Bishop of Clonpert.*

But when she was brought to bed of her first child to Mr. Dillon, if the women had not bestirred themselves that were then present about her, the poor infant had been torn in pieces between the hands of

* Dr. William Bayly was consecrated Bishop of Clonpert and Kilmacduagh at Oxford, 2nd May, 1644. He had been designed for the see of Kilmore upon Bishop Bedell's death, but the patent was revoked. He died 11 Augt. 1664.

the Christian mother and the anti-Christian father; the mother desiring that the child might be baptised unto Christ, by a minister of the Gospel, and crying out, that she would kill herself and her child also ere she would suffer the fruit of her body to be dedicated to anti-Christ by a popish and idolatrous priest.

But notwithstanding all her protestations, zeal, and too late repentance, for that which could not be reversed, he being stronger than her, forced the child from her with such popish violence, as if he had intended to have dasht them both in pieces (as Jacob feared of rough-handed Esau), and so carried it away to the kite, the priest, that was in the next room waiting for the prey, when some thought it had been dead, by the sharp struggling and conflict about the sacramental seal of the new birth of it: But she never offered the breast any more to it, than if it had been none of her's, nor strove with him any more about any of his children; but suffered him (though with continual regret and sadness of heart) to do with his children as it seemed good to him in his own eyes; so they were all brought up in idolatry, and married to the children of Belial; so that which Rebecca feared, about the match of her son Jacob, was really her lot, she became weary of her life and said often, "What good shall my life do to me?" She being thus so unequally yoked, so directly contrary to that

matrimonial institution given by the Apostle at large. *Cor.* vi. 14.

Now, having the affliction of her husband's treasonable rebellion against God and man superadded to the great heap of her former conjugal afflictions, she knew not what to do, nor whither to go for comfort, her house being now a den of thieves and murderers, whither they resorted from all places; and in this extremity she sends for my Lord of Kilmore, her faithful pastor; whose constant hearer she was, for a word of consolation in her hour of temptation; to assuage her grief, and deliver her from her sorrow that was now ready to swallow her up with desperation, unless the Lord came in with speedy relief to a sinking and weary soul.

The suitable return which my lord makes to this pious request, to save her from succumbing under so great a burthen I will here set down, because it was the last rich cordial that this spiritual physician ever sent or administered in writing to any afflicted soul, being the abbreviate of many excellent sermons that she heard him preach before, in the public assembly of the Church at Kilmore:

"You desire, as I am informed (dear sister in "Christ Jesus), that I would send you some short "memorial, to put you in mind how to carry yourself "in this sorrowful time. I will do it willingly; the

" more because with one and the same labor, I shall " both satisfy you, and recollect my own thoughts " also, to the like performance of mine own duty, and " bethinking myself how I might best accomplish it, " there came to my mind that short rule of our life, " which the Apostle mentions in his epistle to Titus, " and whereof you have been a diligent hearer in the " school of grace, where he reduceth the whole prac- " tice of christianity unto three heads, of living *soberly*, " *justly*, and *godly;* This last directing our carriage " towards God, the middlemost towards our neighbour, " and the foremost towards ourselves. Now since this " is a direction for our whole life, it seems to me that we " have no more to do at any time, but to learn this lesson " more perfectly, with some particular application of such " parts of it as are most suitable to the present occasions.

" And as to *Sobriety* first (under which the virtues " of humility, modesty, temperance, chastity, and " contentedness are contained), since this is a time, " wherein, as the Apostle saith, *The Lord of Hosts* " *calleth to weeping and mourning, and pulling off the* " *hair, and girding with sackcloth*, you shall, by my " advice, conform yourself to those, that by the hand " of God suffer such things. Let your apparel and " dress be mournful, as I doubt not but that your " mind is; your diet sparing and coarse, rather than " full and liberal; frame yourself to the indifferency

" whereof the Apostle speaketh, *In whatsoever state* " *you shall be, therewith to be content;* to be full, and " to be hungry; to abound, and to want. Remember " now that which is the lot of others, you know not " how soon it may be your own. Learn to despise, " and defy, the vain and falsely-called wealth of this " world, whereof you now see, we have so casual and " uncertain a possession.

" This for *Sobriety,* the first part of the lesson per- " taining to yourself.

" Now for *Justice,* which respects others (and " containeth the virtues of honor to superiors, discreet " and equal government of inferiors, peaceableness " to all, meekness, mercy, just dealing in matters of " getting and spending, gratitude, liberality, just " speech and desires) God's judgments being in the " earth, the inhabitants of the world should learn " righteousness, as the prophet speaketh: '*Call to* " '*mind, therefore, and bethink you, if in any of these* " '*you have failed, and turn your feet to God's testi-* " '*monies*'; certainly these times are such, wherein " you may be afflicted, and say with the Psalmist, " '*Horror hath taken hold of me, and rivers of tears* " '*run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy laws.*' " Rebelling against superiors, misleading, not only by " example, but by compulsion, inferiors, laying their " hand to them, that were at peace with them, unjustly

" spoiling and unthankfully requiting those that had " shewed them kindness, no faith nor truth in their " promises; judge, by the way, of the school that " teacheth Christ thus; are these His doings? As for " those that suffer, I am well assured, I shall not need " to inform you, or stir you up to mercy and compas- " sion. That which is done in this kind, is done to " Christ himself, and shall be put upon account in " your reckoning, and rewarded accordingly at his " glorious appearance.

" The last and principal part of our lesson remains, " which teacheth how to behave ourselves *Godly*, or " religiously (to this belong, first, the duties of God's " inward worship, as fear, love, and faith in God; " then outward, as invocation, the holy use of his " word and sacraments, name, and sabbaths). The " Apostle makes the whole end and work for which " we were sent in this world, to seek the Lord; yet in " public affliction, we are specially invited thereto, as " it is written of Jehosaphat, when a great multitude " came to invade him, '*He set his face to seek the Lord,* " '*and called the people to a solemn fast:*' So the Church " professeth in the prophet Isaiah, '*In the way of thy* " '*judgments, Lord, we have waited for Thee, the desire* " '*of our soul is to Thy name, and to the remembrance of* " '*Thee. With my soul have I desired Thee in the night,* " '*yea, with my spirit within me will I seek Thee early.*'

" In this public calamity, therefore, it is our duty to " turn to him that smiteth us; and to humble ourselves " under his mighty hand; to conceive a reverend and " religious fear towards him, that only, by turning " away his countenance, can thus trouble us, against " that of man, which can do more than kill the body.

" Again, to renew our love to our heavenly Father, " that now offereth himself to us, as to children, and " to give a proof of that love that we bear to our " Saviour, in the keeping of his sayings, hating in " comparison of him, and competition with him, father, " mother, children, goods, and life itself; which is the " condition, and proof of his disciples; and, above all, " to receive, and to reinforce our faith and affiance, " which is now brought unto the trial of the fiery " furnace, and of the lion's den: O that it might be " found to our honor, praise, and glory, at the appear- " ing of Jesus Christ! In the mean space, even now, " let us be partakers of Christ's sufferings; and hear " him from heaven encouraging us, '*Be thou faithful* " '*unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.*'

" Touching Prayer, we have this gracious invitation, " '*Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear* " '*thee*'; the example of all God's saints, and of our " Saviour in his agony; to this belong the humble " confession of our sins, with earnest request of par- " don; the complaint of our misery and danger, with

" request of succour and protection. We have besides " the intercession of our Advocate with the Father, " the cry of the innocent blood, that hath been cruelly " shed, and the Lord's own interesting himself in the " cause, so as we may say with the psalmist, '*Arise,* " '*O God; plead thine own cause, remember how the* " '*foolish man (yea, the Man of Sin) reproacheth thee* " '*daily. Forget not the voice of thine enemies; the* " '*tumult of those that rise against thee, encreaseth con-* " '*tinually.*' That psalm, and many others, as the vi, " xiii, xxxv, xliii, lxxi, lxxiv, lxxix, lxxx, lxxxviii, " xcii, xciv, cii, cxv, cxxiii, cxxx, cxl, cxlii, do give " precedents of prayers in such times as these; and the " prayer of Daniel and Ezra, ix, of Asa and Jehosha- " phat, II Chron. xiv. and xxvi, 12. The stories of " David's flight before Absolom, and Jehoshaphat's " behaviour when the enemies came against him, of " Hezekiah's, in Sennacherib's invasion, Isa. xxxvii, " and the whole book of Esther, are fit Scriptures now " to be read, that through the patience and comfort of " them we might have hope.

" Now because we know not how soon we may be " called to sanctify God's name, by making profession " thereof, you may perhaps desire to know what to " say in that day. You may openly profess your not " doubting of any article of the Catholic faith, shortly " laid down in the Creed, or more largely laid down in

" the Holy Scriptures, but that you consent not to " certain opinions, which are no points of faith, which " have been brought into common belief, without war- " rant of Scriptures, or pure antiquity, as namely:—

" That it is not necessary to Salvation to be under " the Pope.

" That the Scriptures ought not to be read of the " common people.

" That the doctrine of Holy Scripture is not suffi- " cient to Salvation.

" That the service of God ought to be in a language " not understood of the people.

" That the communion should not be administered " to them in both kinds.

" That the bread in the Lord's Supper is transub- " stantiated into his body.

" That he is there sacrificed for the quick and the " dead.

" That there is any Purgatory besides Christ's " blood.

" That our good works can merit heaven.

" That the saints hear our prayers, and know our " hearts.

" That images are to be worshipped.

" That the Pope is infallible, and can command " angels.

" That we ought to pray to the dead, and for the " dead.

"In all these, notwithstanding, you may profess "your teachableness, if by sound reasons out of God's "word, you shall be convinced of the truth of them: "And because we know not how far it will please God "to call us to make resistance against sin, whether "unto blood itself, or no; it shall be wisdom for us to "prepare ourselves to the last care of a godly life, "which is to die godly. This the apostle Paul calleth, "*sleeping in Jesus*, implying thereby our faith in him, "our being found in his work, and our committing our "souls into his hands with peace; such a sweet and "heavenly sleep that was of St. Stephen, whose last "words for himself were, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit*, "and for his tormenters, *Lord lay not this sin to their "charge;* wherewith I will end this writing, and wish "to end my life, when the will of God shall be; to "whose gracious protection (dear sister) I do heartily "commit you.

"November 23, 1641.

This poor afflicted lady received this divine instruction and consolation in the midst of her evils, with such gratulation, that her soul began to magnify the Lord, and her spirit (with the blessed Virgin) to rejoice in God her Saviour; that she was no more sad in such high degree as before, but her heart (with Hannah) rejoiced in the Lord, and her mouth was so enlarged

over her enemies that were now round about her, that she did earnestly contend for the faith once given to the saints, with the popish Jesuits and priests; and delighted so much in this heavenly meditation, that she got it all by heart; and so having fought the good fight of faith, finished her course and kept the faith, and enjoyed now the reward of the faithful, the crown of life, amongst the blessed confessors, that held fast Christ's name, and had not denied His faith, though they dwell (as He did) even where Satan's throne is now, yet loved not their lives unto death.

It came to pass after this, that the rebels having desired my Lord of Kilmore to put away the poor stript people, that had so hardly escaped from the fury of the adversary, that was so ready to destroy them, and had for the space of almost two months, been safe as with Lot in Zoar; they told him that it crossed their design to maintain such a multitude, whom they intended to destroy; that what he had in the house or field might be for the maintenance of their soldiers. His lordship refusing to cast them into the lion's mouth to be devoured, out of which they had been taken, "as the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion, two legs or a piece of an ear," as the prophet Amos speaketh, or as so many firebrands pluckt out of the burning, resolves, like a good shepherd, to lay down his life for his flock (as the great

Shepherd did); or with them rather to die, as Zwinglius the Reformer did, than thus to expose them, or hide his eyes from his own flesh, in suffering them to take anything, whilst he had yet anything left him; for he said with Esther: "*How can I endure to see the evil that shall come upon my people; or how can I endure to see the destruction of my kindred?*"

At last, they resolve upon another speedy and inhuman course, and tell him, that though they loved and honored him above all the English that ever came into Ireland (because he had never done wrong to any, but good to many), yet they had received strict orders from their council-of-state at Kilkenny (which was the metropolis of the rebels), that if he would not put away the distressed people from him, they must immediately, without any more ado, take him away from them: to whom he said no more, but that of David, when he was forced to flee for his life: "*Here am I, let the Lord do unto me as it seemeth good to Him;*" and that of Paul's friends: "*The will of the Lord be done.*" Whereupon, they immediately seize upon and drive away all his cattle, whereof he had good store of small and great, having a whole Irish mile of good and fruitful grounds lying round about his castle, well stockt. He had a great husbandry, kept two teams and many servants, most of whom were Irish. And albeit, he might justly say with Samuel, before the Lord and all

the people: "*Whose ox have I taken, or whose ass have I taken, or whom have I defrauded, whom have I oppressed, or of whose hands have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith, and I will restore it?*" And might as justly expect and receive the like answer with him: "*Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken ought of any man's hand;*" Yet upon the 18th day of December, taking possession of the castle, and of all that was within it, they took my lord bishop and his two sons with Alexander Clogy, the minister of Cavan, prisoners, and brought them to a castle in the midst of a loch, within two miles of Kilmore (the only place of strength in the whole country) called Loughoughter. There was of old a little island about it, but it was worn all away to the bare stone walls, and not one foot of ground now to be seen above water; only a tall round tower, like a prison-house, standing in the midst of the waters, and above a musket shot from it to each shore. Thither they bring this blessed servant of God, as John the beloved disciple "unto the isle that is called Patmos," and that upon the same account; for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ; who, in that respect, may well be called his brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ.

And the titular priest took peaceable possession of

all, as having all this while (as he said) been wrongfully kept out, who, the next Lord's day, set up in the cathedral church "the image of jealousy." And thus the shepherd being smitten (or taken away) in conformity to, and congruity with the Great Shepherd in this also, the sheep of the little flock were scattered abroad, and became a prey. They would not suffer his sons' wives to go with their husbands, but those obtained favor to abide with a honest Irish minister, one Dennis O'Sheridin, who was married to an English woman. They were a blessed couple, and did much good, and relieved many of God's outcasts.

They did not suffer them to carry away with them anything out of the castle for their present accommodation and natural necessity; but, as they stood, they took them away a-foot with them (as the people of God to Babylon), only they mounted my lord upon a little Irish *gearran*. Unto this sad goal they were conveyed by a cott or *troch*, made of one piece of timber; and there they found a justice of peace, that had deservedly taken possession of this dungeon the very first day of the Rebellion, one Mr. Arthur Cullum, and his wife; whose father, Sir Hugh, being a captain under the Queen in Tyrone's wars, had that fort committed to his trust; for the keeping of which he had a large proportion of land allowed him; but this his son, that knew nothing of the wars of the Lord

with these Canaanites, neglected the place so much, where the magazine ought to have been kept for the defence of the country against sudden insurrections, that though he said he had in his house (when he was taken prisoner) ten pounds worth of sugar and plumbs, yet he had not one pound of powder, nor one fixt musket for the defence of it: And, therefore, it was the first place they seized upon, and he the first that was clapt into it.

The young men they put in irons, lest they should surprise the fort at any time; for sometimes they would all be drunk, and sometimes but one keeper left to look after six prisoners. But God gave them such favor in the eyes of the keeper of the prison (as to Joseph of old) that he abated much of the rigorous commands that were given him; and did ease them of their irons, and gave them leave to use divine exercises of God's worship, as to pray, read, preach, and sing the songs of Zion in a strange land, as the three children; though in the next room the priest was acting his Babylonish mass. In this pit there was neither door, nor window of glass or wood, to keep out snow or rain; and the boards of the floors so rotton and broken with rain, that it seemed not very safe to walk upon them: But God's providence in this mount of extremity was marvellously seen towards them; else they might have perished with cold in the height of winter, and in the

midst of the waters in that uncomfortable and desolate place. For the rebels had brought one Mr. Richard Castledyne prisoner, who had been a carpenter many years before, and he procured some tools and boards and made shuts for the large windows, that were very dangerous to the prisoners before.

This Richard Castledyne was brought over into Ireland (with his carpenter's tools on his back) by Sir Richard Waldron, who had a large plantation in the parish of Cavan, where he began to build a castle, called Fernham Castle, from the name of his place in England. All the carpenter's work was contrived and performed by this Richard Castledyne, that by his diligence and sobriety, in the fear of the Lord, had got a considerable estate under his master; who, playing the ill-husband, and being corrupted by the Irish commessations, never finished his begun work, but gave way to this his servant to purchase his master's castle, and all the lands belonging to it, in less space than thirty years; and withal being exceedingly discouraged by the death of Esquire Waldron, his eldest son, whom sadly overcome with drink, Major Trafford (that commanded the Welsh company that lay at Belturbet), slew for speaking some rash words (as was pretended), he left Ireland, and returned to England long before the Rebellion.

This industrious and thriving carpenter had no son,

only two daughters; one of which he had married to his master, Sir Richard Waldron his youngest son, with a full intention to leave him all his father's lands that he had purchased of him, if the Rebellion had not interposed. Now this Richard Castledyne was esteemed one of the most religious men in all the country; could exactly take notes of sermons; and could give a good account of them to his family when he came home; a devout man, and one that feared God, with all his house; which gave much alms to the people, and like another Cornelius, prayed to God alway, being under a greater effusion of the spirit of grace and supplication than many. He, being accounted the best moneyed man in all the country, was brought to this prison, that the enemy might find out where his great strength lay (I mean his wealth), for he was very rich in all things towards God and men; and, being ousted of all that was above ground, was brought by God's providence to be helpful to the other five prisoners that were there before him; and though he had hardly touched a tool (in such a way) for many years before, yet he was not ashamed in his old age to return to his former architecture that he was bred up in, to do us and himself good in that extremity.

That Trafford, to whom I before referred, fled to the German wars, and after many years was an unfortunate popish colonel in the King's army, and at last a

reformado in Sir William Vaughan's troop at the battles of York and Naseby.

But to return to the prison: What entertainment had this man of God there? Without doubt, sorry entertainment in such a ruinous and empty place; where no son of man had lodged in forty years before; even much like that Elijah found, when he hid himself from Ahab and Jezebel, by the brook Cherith, that is before Jordan; the occasion being the same, the place not much unlike, for it was said to him: "Thou shalt drink of the brook, and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there; and the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening; and he did drink of the brook;" Even so, at God's command, these ravenous beasts brought him bread and flesh enough, and bid him, and the other prisoners with him, to dress it as they would, for they were no cooks, but keepers. They would not allow any of his servants to attend him in this extremity: so they got a pot and boiled some, and upon the coals roasted or broiled some, as in the camp or leagure soldiers are glad to do: so the allowance of this good soldier or champion of Jesus Christ was bread of affliction, and water of affliction. His lodging was little better than that Jacob was fain to take up with (when he fled from his angry brother Esau, that purposed to murder him) in the fields of Bethel, which afterwards

lost its name and was called Beth-aven, the house of iniquity. Thus these prisoners of hope, turning themselves continually to their strong-hold, by prayers and supplications; rolling themselves upon God's arm, by faith and patience, possessed their souls, being made partakers of Christ's sufferings. Not suffering as evil doers, but as Christians, were not ashamed of the cross of Christ (which all that follow Him must take up), but glorified God on this behalf, with all boldness, as always, so now also, that Christ should be magnified in their bodies, whether it were by life or by death, as the apostle speaks. Yea, with all the apostles, they rejoiced that they were accounted worthy to suffer shame for Christ's name, and to be made partakers of the afflictions of the Gospel, according to the power of God.

Whosoever had known this worthy patriarch in his afflictions might well have thought him to have been the angel of the Church of Smyrna, to whom our Lord writes thus from heaven: "I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty; but thou art rich;" for he was rich indeed towards God, in faith and good works, and took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, knowing in himself that he had in heaven a better and enduring substance, where his treasure was; and might truly say with the man after God's own heart: "The bands of wicked men have robbed me, but I have not forgotten

thy law;" and again: "Trouble and anguish have taken hold upon me, yet thy commandments are my delight;" and, therefore, Christ proceeds in saying to him: "Fear none of those things which thou shalt "suffer, behold the Devil shall cast some of you into "prison, that ye may be tried, and ye shall have "tribulation ten days." All this was fulfilled to him and his fellow prisoners, almost in the very letter of it, for he continued no longer in durance, but till the 7th of January, being committed the 18th day of December before.

On the Gun-powder-treason day* he preached on the whole one-hundred-and-twenty-fourth Psalm. The sabbath day next after his commitment, which was the 19th day of December, he preached upon Phil. iv. 4-7, being the epistle for the day: Upon Christmas day, upon Gal. iv. 4, 5, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper to his little flock (being one less than were in Noah's ark), as he always did, in his prosperity, to his greater flock on that day; the keeper having provided bread and wine. Upon the next Lord's day, which was the 20th of December, Mr. Bedell, my lord's eldest son, who was minister of Kinally, preached upon Acts vii. 5, 59, 60, on St. Stephen's day, which men call the proto-martyr's day. Upon the Lord's day following, being the 2nd of

* 5 Nov. 1641.

January, the minister of Cavan preached upon Luke ii. 33-35, the last sermon that was preached there.

So that you may see the goodness of God, as to Paul the prisoner, and also the aged, so to this aged and reverend father, that though he suffered trouble as an evil doer, even unto bonds, and was now an ambassador in bonds for Christ, yet the word of God was not bound. God had put such a restraint upon his enemies (that did always reverence and honor his person) that though he were (with Daniel) now in the lion's den, yet He suffered none to disturb him, nor to come near us in time of divine worship, as if God had sent His angel, and had stopt these lions' mouths, that they should not hurt him nor his; forasmuch as before him innocency was found in him, and before these men he had done no hurt, but more good than any of his place had ever done before him; which his very enemies of all orders did still profess unto him, that they had no personal exception against him, nor hatred to him, but merely national.

The way of God's enlarging him was this: About the time of his imprisonment, the Scots of the county of Cavan, having got together at the very beginning of the Rebellion, made head for their own defence and preservation against the murderers, under the command of Sir James Craig (that married a daughter of Sir Moses Hill, an old captain of Queen Elizabeth's) and

Sir Francis Hamilton (that married a daughter of that most famous and valiant knight, Sir Charles Coote, that was slain by the rebels at the storming of Trim, within twenty miles of Dublin); they had also another young Scottish knight, called Sir Arthur Forbes, son of that stout and gallant Sir Arthur Forbes, that was slain in Germany by Sir Frederick Hamilton, in a duel, upon a petty difference about quarters: These had fortified for their lives, as well as they could in such a sudden straight, the castles of Crocken, where Sir James Craig dwelt, and that of Keilah, where Sir Frederick Hamilton dwelt, there being but one mile of woody ground between them, and both within two miles of Loughoughter castle, where my Lord of Kilmore was prisoner; so that we could hear the report of any gun from either easily. The Scots and English having made huts and cabins, within and without the barn-walls, and covered them with cow-hides, were safe from the present shock for a month or six weeks; but afterwards strictly besieged: whereupon they fix all their scythes upon long poles, and being very scarce of ammunition (though they had guns enough) they resolve to sally forth out of both their castles, and to make a resolute assault upon the enemy's camp in a frosty night, which they did perform with such irresistible courage and good success, that they made such foul work and havock amongst their enemies, that

such persons as were not cut in pieces, or mangled with these terrible weapons, were either taken prisoners or forced to run away, and leave their camp as it was. This valiant exploit and prosperous adventure frighted the rebels so much (though they were ten to one), that they never offered to besiege them any more till the 15th day of June following, all the country being entirely their's, saving these two small holds.

Now in this assault there were four principal men of the O'Rorwicks taken prisoners, that had brought their forces out of the province of Connaught to this siege, whom the rebels desired to be exchanged for my Lord of Kilmore, his two sons, and the minister of Cavan, which was accordingly performed on the 7th day of January. The Scots dismiss the four grand leading rebels, and they enlarge the four prisoners, and let them go free: their promise was to send them safe to Dublin, but there was no faithfulness in their lips; and they kept them in the country to make further merchandize of them.

Thus it pleased God to enlarge them, that never expected to be brought alive from that Tophet; but Mr. Callum and the good rich carpenter were left there still, till the Scots got them also off (as you shall hear). Oh! how sadly did they weep in parting with my Lord of Kilmore, as Paul's friends at Ephesus; as Elisha was loth to part with his dear Elijah; the

prison they esteemed a paradise while he was with them, fearing that they should see his face no more, nor hear a word of consolation from his mouth; whose heavenly doctrine did drop as the rain; whose speech did distill as the dew upon them, as the small rain upon the tender herb; as the showers upon the grass; like another Moses. And so it came to pass indeed (as they feared), for they saw his face no more.

My lord came to the house of the honest Irish minister, where his sons' wives remained all the while of his imprisonment. His name is Denis O'Sheridin, that lived within a mile of Kilmore, and was my lord's tenant. There were they, no better than free-prisoners; they never durst be seen far from the house, unless it were for recreation.

This is now the last station between this faithful servant of the Lord in all his house and the Land of Promise. This is to him as Mount Nebo, as the top of Pisgah was to Moses; whence he takes a view of all that was beneath him in this world, of all things past in the whole course of his pilgrimage, of all things present, and to be left behind him, and of all things that were above, where Christ sits at the Father's right hand, ready to embrace him, and to say unto him: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," &c., and with all speed makes haste to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, as a bright star in

His right hand, or shining in a golden candlestick, than to be clapt here any more under a bushel.

Never man spent his small remnant of time better, in holy meditations and heavenly preparations for death, in reference to himself and his few hearers, in this his last month. On the 9th January,* being the Lord's day, he preached upon Psalm xliv. a great part of the day; next Sabbath, being the 16th, on Psalm lxxix. *per totum;* next Sabbath, being the 23rd, on Psalm lxxi. from verse 15 *ad finem*, observing a great fitness in it to express his present condition: "My mouth shall shew forth thy righteousness and thy salvation all the day, for I know not the numbers thereof. I will go in the strength of the Lord God, I will make mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only; O Lord thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works; now also when I am old and gray-headed forsake me not." And the last Lord's day of his pilgrimage, save one, on Psalm cxliv. *per totum;* to usher him into his everlasting Sabbath, that remains for the people of God. All these psalms were the first for their several appointed days in the Rubric, except the seventy-first. All the prayers of the Church and appointed Scriptures he read himself, though there were three ministers present with him.

* 1642.

But in his last sermon that he preached on Psalm cxliv., when he came to these words in the seventh verse: "Send thine hand from above, rid me, and deliver me out of great waters, from the hand of strange children; whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a hand of falsehood," which is repeated again (verse 11) for the greater emphasis, to enforce the former request. O! with what ardency of spirit, and heavenly affection did he send up these petitions to the God of his salvation; as if they had breathed from the soul of the first author of them by a supernatural metempsychosis; or as if he had seen God's hand stretched forth, as Noah's towards the dove that found no rest for the sole of her foot till he took and pulled her (or, as it is in the Heb. caused her to come in) unto him into the ark; or with Paul, he had been raptured into the third heaven, and had heard and seen ἀρρητα ρηματα, things unutterable: or with St. Stephen, he had seen the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God ready to receive his spirit; or as if with the Two Witnesses he had heard a voice from heaven saying unto him (as to them upon the like account): "Come up hither." His dwelling upon these words something longer than any other part of the psalm, with such holy expressions, sighs, and groans, dissolved the eyes of all his hearers into a flood of tears; amongst whom Mrs. Dillon (whom

I mentioned before) was one, who loved him unto death, and had rather died with him than to abide (as she did now) in the tents of Kedar and tabernacle of wickedness and idolatry, as her house was at this time. She and all those present took this extraordinary impulse of his spirit as a presage and infallible sign of his approaching dissolution, as indeed it proved to be. For the very next day after it pleased the God of the spirits of all flesh to visit him with sickness (occasioned and contracted by a cold he had taken in that sad prison), which upon Tuesday, being the first of February, appeared to be an ague, and his feet began to fail him. He took some physic (wherein also he had great knowledge), which brought on a looseness. On the fourth day, apprehending some symptoms of his sudden change that would make him for ever unchangeable, he calls his children and their wives unto him, and thus from his sick bed he began to speak unto them:—

"I am going the way of all flesh, I am now ready "to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at "hand: Knowing, therefore, that I must put off this "tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ has shewed "me, I know also that if this my earthly house of this "tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, "an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, "a fair mansion in the New Jerusalem, which increaseth "my desire even now to depart and be with Christ, which

" cometh down out of heaven from my God. Therefore " to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain; which " is far better than to continue here in all the transi- " tory, vain, and false pleasures of this world, of which " I have seen an end. Hearken, therefore, unto the " last words of your dying father; I am no more in " this world, but ye are in the world; I ascend to my " Father and your Father, to my God and your God, " through the all-sufficient merits of Jesus Christ my " Redeemer; who ever lives to make intercession for " me, who is a propitiation for all my sins, and washed " me from them all in his own blood, who is worthy to " receive glory, and honor, and power, who hath created " all things, and for whose pleasure they are and were " created.

" My witness is in heaven, and my record on high, " that I have endeavoured to glorify God on earth, and " in the ministry of the Gospel of his dear Son, which " was committed to my trust; I have finished the work " which he gave me to do, as a faithful ambassador of " Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God. I have " preached righteousness in the great congregation: " Lo, I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou " knowest. I have not hid thy righteousness within " my heart, I have declared thy faithfulness, and thy " salvation; I have not concealed thy loving-kindness " and thy truth from the great congregation of mankind.

" He is near that justifieth me, that I have not con-
" cealed the words of the Holy One; but the words
" that he gave to me, I have given to you, and ye have
" received them. I had a desire and a resolution to
" walk before God (in every station of my pilgrimage,
" from my youth up to this day) in truth and with an
" upright heart, and to do that which was upright in
" his eyes, to the utmost of my power; and what things
" were gain to me formerly, these things I count now
" loss for Christ; yea, doubtless, and I account all
" things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge
" of Jesus Christ my Lord; for whom I have suffered
" the loss of all things, and I account them but dung,
" that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not
" having mine own righteousness, which is of the law,
" but that which is through the faith of Christ, the
" righteousness which is of God by faith; that I may
" know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the
" fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable
" unto his death; I press therefore towards the mark,
" for the prize of the high calling of God in Jesus
" Christ.

" Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ,
" neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor
" famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword; though
" (as ye hear and see) for his sake we are killed all the
" day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter:

" Yet in all these things we are more than conquerors,
" through Him that loved us: For I am persuaded,
" that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor princi-
" palities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things
" to come, nor heighth, nor depth, nor any creature
" shall be able to separate me from the love of God in
" Christ Jesu my Lord. Therefore, love not the world,
" nor the things of the world; but prepare daily and
" hourly for death (that now besieges us on every side)
" and be faithful unto death; that we may meet
" together joyfully on the right hand of Christ at the
" last day, and follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth,
" with all those that are clothed with white robes, in
" sign of innocency, and palms in their hands in sign
" of victory; which came out of great tribulation, and
" have washed their robes, and made them white in
" the blood of the Lamb. They shall hunger no more,
" nor thirst, neither shall the sun light on them, or any
" heat; for the Lamb, that is in the midst of the
" Throne, shall feed them, and lead them unto living
" fountains of waters, and shall wipe away all tears
" from their eyes.

" Choose rather with Moses to suffer affliction with
" the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin
" for a season; which will be bitterness in the latter
" end. Look, therefore, for sufferings, and to be daily
" made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up

" that which is behind of the affliction of Christ in
" your flesh, for his body's sake, which is the Church.
" What can you look for, but one woe after another,
" while the Man of Sin is thus suffered to rage, and to
" make havoc of God's people at his pleasure, while
" men are divided about trifles, that ought to have been
" more vigilant over us, and careful of those, whose
" blood is precious in God's sight, though now shed
" everywhere like water. If ye suffer for righteous-
" ness, happy are ye; be not afraid of their terror,
" neither be ye troubled; and be ye in nothing terrified
" by your adversaries; which is to them an evident
" token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that
" of God. For to you is given in the behalf of Christ,
" not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his
" sake. Rejoice, therefore, in as much as ye are par-
" takers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory shall
" be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy.
" And if ye be reproached for the name of Christ,
" happy are ye; the Spirit of Glory and of Christ
" resteth on you. On their part he is evil spoken of,
" but on your part he is glorified.

" God will surely visit you in due time, and return
" your captivity, as the rivers of the South, and bring
" you back again into your possession in this land:
" though now for a season (if need be) ye are in
" heaviness through manifold temptations; yet ye

" shall reap in joy, though now ye sow in tears: All " our losses shall be recompensed with abundant " advantages, for my God will supply all your need, " according to his riches in glory by Jesus Christ, who " is able to do exceedingly abundantly for us, above all " that we are able to ask or think."

Having thus spoken from the spirit of God within him, he blessed all his children, and those that stood by him, with an audible voice, in these words:—" God " of his infinite mercy bless you all, and present you " holy, and unblameable, and unreproveable in his " sight, that we may meet together at the right hand " of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, with joy un- " speakable and full of glory. Amen."

Afterwards, he uttered these words: "I have fought " a good fight, I have finished the course of my ministry " and life together. Though grievous wolves have " entered in among us, not sparing the flock, yet I " trust the great Shepherd of his Flock will save and " deliver them out of all places, where they have been " scattered in this cloudy and dark day; that they " shall be no more a prey to the heathen, neither shall " the beasts of the land devour them; but they shall " dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. O! " Lord, I have waited for thy salvation."

Afterwards these words: " I have kept the faith " once given to the saints; for the which cause I have

" also suffered these things; but I am not ashamed,
" for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded
" that He is able to keep that which I have committed
" to him against that day."

As his weakness increased, his speech failed, and taking little or no food till the 7th day of February. He continued well composed in his mind, being full of serenity of spirit in all his trials and temptations that befell him, and assurances of God's love, resolving silently to submit unto the good pleasure of God. He was inclined to sleep, and slumbered out the most of his time, till about midnight, when he fell asleep in Jesus, with whom he is now in glory, with all the holy ones and blessed martyrs of Jesus, where we leave him, till God fit us to come where he is.

And thus you see how within one week after his last heavenly sermon, having shewed invincible courage under so great and sad a change in Church and State, he departs in peace from the tumultous uproars of this turbulent world, and according to his desire and earnest expectation enters into his Master's joy, more than conqueror, to receive the crown of immortality and eternal felicity, with all those that die in the Lord.

No man lived more desired, nor died more lamented by all that knew him in the Lord. We esteemed him the breath of our nostrils in our captivity, and had as great desire to have died with him as the disciples with

Lazarus of Bethany, than to live without him; who being delivered so lately, as Jeremiah out of the dungeon, and as Daniel out of the lion's den, was so suddenly snatched away from the evil to come, and caught up into heaven from us, of whom the world was not worthy, at the best. And as St. Augustine died in the month of the seige of Hippo, by the Vandals, who had overrun all Afric with Arian cruelty (as the poor Alcedama of Ireland is now with popish cruelty), so this angel of the Church of Ireland was taken away in the third month of our captivity.

What was said of Moses, Caleb, and Joshua, was true of him: "His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated"; only he had some kind of deafness in his left ear, occasioned by a fall down stairs in his childhood. I remember that walking abroad with him and his two sons, the week before he sickened, in returning back, he leapt so nimbly and vigorously over a broad ditch that amazed us all, and put us to a stand to follow him. He never used spectacles; nor lost one tooth; nor any decay of his hair, save in the color; his gray hairs, being found in the way of righteousness, were as a crown to him; his beard was long and broad. I never knew any razor to pass upon his face, which was beautiful, with more majesty and gravity than my pen can express.

His judgment was not decayed in the least, but

rather authorized with age, having always in readiness wonderful ability to discourse in any argument of things divine or human; to pray (which he always did in his house without book); to preach (which he always did without notes, charging his memory with his meditations, afterwards discharging them into writing); to write, to dispute, to comfort, and at last to die. He was never languishing and mouldy or reasty, through want of employment, but always active in bringing forth something for the common good of the Church of God.

Answerable to his profound judgment was his great zeal for the truth against Popery. The letter that came to him from London, when he was preacher at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, about the discovery of the hellish powder-plot, with all the circumstances of it, he read annually upon that day (being the fifth of November) all the years of his life, in the pulpit, before sermon, ere ever he read his text. It was well penned; if I had it, I would set it down here. And after supper, he constantly read, on the same day, an excellent poem that he wrote at that time upon that discovery, and called "The Shepherd's Tale," being a poetical dialogue between certain shepherds concerning that plot.* It is conceived in the old dialect of Tusser

* A MS. copy of this poem was found among the papers of Dr. Dillingham, formerly Master of Emmanuel Coll., Cambridge, and was

and Chaucer, being two or three sheets of paper. I have no time to set it down now; but hereafter you may see it with his Latin letters to Mr. John Dury, about the pacification of the reformed churches, which are learned and large.

Minister Sheridin (the minister in whose house he died) and I went to Kilmore, about my lord's burial, to speak with the popish usurper, Bishop Swiney (as his name is, so is he). We found him lying upon a bolster so drunk with *usque-bea* (having defiled all the room with his filthiness) that when Mr. Dillon came in, and kneeled before him (as their popish manner is) he was not able to stretch forth his hand towards him, but a friar that stood by took up his drunken hand and laid it upon the popish head that came to assist us in our request, being persuaded thereto by his good wife *(quantum mutatus ab illo)*, that was there before him, as Jehoram from Jehoshaphat, or Manasseh from Hezekiah.

There was nothing now to be seen in this our school

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published in the year 1718, under the title of *A Protestant Memorial; or, The Shepherd's Tale of the Powder Plot.* Of this publication, strange to say, only two copies are known to be extant; the one is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the other in the Grenville Library, British Museum. It is a very indifferent performance; so much so, indeed, as to raise a suspicion that Bedell had no hand in it.

of the prophets but *ziim iim* and *ochim*, those doleful creatures which Isaiah foretells should be the inhabitants of Babylon, after all the evil that they had done in Zion. This house of prayer is now become a den of thieves, a cage of every unclean and hateful bird: This is the man that offered himself for our guard! that had a name to be alive, but was dead; the admittance of this filthy beast had been like the conjunction of Mezenti the tyrant, of the living with the dead: whose licence we obtained at last for my lord's burial (though with much ado) to bury him in his own church-yard by his dear consort, which was denied awhile by his popish, or rather paganish, intruder and destroyer, who said to us at first: "The church-yard was no more to be defiled with heretics' bodies."

Thus did these barbarous, ungrateful miscreants requite this servant of the Lord evil for good; who sought their welfare, and did them more good (even to the hazard of his own quiet and reputation) than all that were ever before him in that see. They would scarce allow him a place to lay his head on when he was alive, and now they will hardly allow a place for his dead body to lie in, as right officers of that great city, which is spiritually called Sodom and Egypt, where our Lord is daily crucified; that would not suffer the dead bodies of the Two Witnesses to be put in

the grave for three days and a half; that even with Abraham, amongst the sons of Heth, would have received this answer to such a pious request: "Hear us, my lord, thou art a mighty prince with us, in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead, none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead."

So on the 9th day of February 164½, he was laid in the grave, according to his desire in his last will and testament, hard by his wife's coffin, that had been buried there four years before. The chief of the Irish rebels gathered their forces together and accompanied the corpse from Mr. Sheridin's house to the church-yard of Kilmore, in a great solemnity; and desired Alexander Clogy, the minister of Cavan, to perform the office for the dead (according to our manner in former times), and promised not to interrupt in the least; but, we, being surrounded with armed men, esteemed it more prudent to bury him as all the patriarchs, prophets, Christ and his apostles, and all saints and martyrs, in former ages were, than attempt such a hazardous office (and sacrifice for the dead, as they call it), and needless at such a time in the presence of those Egyptians. But, instead thereof, they gave him a volley of shot, and said with a loud voice, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum!* For they had told him at their first rising, that he should be the last Englishmen that should be put out

of Ireland, because he was styled by men of understanding, *Ultimus et optimus Episcoporum.**

As he gave many evidences of rare gifts and graces bestowed upon him above ordinary measure, so his humility, wherewith he was clothed, was apparent in this, touching the desire he had about his funeral (had he died in prosperity), of removal of all superfluous appearances, as even to the entombing of his body in the church-yard, whether he would exercise modesty or moderation, not in his life only, but in (yea after) his death; as he would tax a somewhat great forwardness, or weak, if not superstitious, desire, some have that way; as if it concerned the dead anywhit whether they be laid in church, or chancel, or church-yard. Verily, as for them it is all one; and as soon shall the bodies rise that be in the sea, as of them that be in the land, that are in one place, as another: And as for those that are left alive, perhaps it were more wholesome and convenient, if (as in some places which

* It is somewhat remarkable that our biographer, who was present at the obsequies of his beloved relative, omits all mention of the well-authenticated fact in reference to the conduct of Edmund Farley, a popish priest, on that occasion. The ejaculatory wish expressed by the liberal Romanist at the closing grave of the saintly Protestant—"*I would to God that my soul were only with Bedell's!*"—was equally honorable to the memory of the bishop and his panegyrist. The remembrance of that exclamation will perish only with the name of him who was so generously distinguished in it.

this worthy father had seen beyond sea) sepulchres were all utterly removed out of churches, and towns too, than by their frequency and often opening the earth (where great congregations are) to bring annoyance to the living; yea, and somewhat more than that, to discover and tear up, by the streightness sometime, the dead bodies of our dearest relations, ere they be returned to their dust: allow me, I beseech you (whosoever readeth this narrative) this much plea, because this noble patriarch was resolved and contented to take up his lodging for his body where none had been laid before, till the heavens be no more, and till he hear the voice of the Son of Man, making His corruptible put on incorruption, and his mortal to put on immortality, and what is sown in dishonor and weakness to be raised in power and glory.

In his desk his last Will and Testament was found (which he wrote over once a year), wherein, after a divine preface and short confession of his faith, and referring himself to his preaching and writings, he concludes with that of Paul to Timothy: "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed to Him against that day."

And then, having disposed of his estate in England and Ireland, he leaves to the library of Emmanuel College in Cambridge (where he was bred) the rare

Hebrew manuscript of the Old Testament before mentioned, and to Dr. Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, the Primate of Ireland, a Latin Psalter, written above five hundred years ago, in the Saxon character (which is the present Irish character in all their writings and prints, at this day). It was as fair and legible as it was at first; the first letter of each psalm of an inch square and gilded with gold, the goodliest that had been seen in any older age.

He ordered his body to be laid, where, by God's providence, it now lies, waiting for a joyful resurrection, and on his gravestone these words to be engraven: *Depositum Guilielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis*, which I doubt not is performed by his sons.*

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* Bishop Mant, in his *History of the Church of Ireland*, relates, that a gentleman visited, in the year 1820, the grave of Bishop Bedell, in the churchyard of Kilmore, and quotes his letter, which he wrote from Cavan, containing the result of that visit: "I had, in consequence of the gross ignorance regarding Bishop Bedell in this county and town, determined to set this day apart for enquiry at the place of his remains, and in tracing accurately the inscription, and accordingly succeeded beyond my idea. * * I had much difficulty in reading the inscription; indeed it puzzled me twice, and I was perplexed, but determined to make it clear. The letters are all raised on a brownish slab, broken in pieces, and the edges of the letters are so rounded by time, that there is little shade from them, so as to recognise them from the plane surface. I accordingly awaited the bursting out of the sun, which, as the shadows from the index of a dial, relieved the letters a little for me,

These particulars only I can call to mind, having never seen it but once; but if I had it I would set it down *verbatim*, it being one of the most Christian accounts given of the world that ever I saw in any former will and testament.

His library, which was of greatest value of all his goods, the rebels had (with all the rest); wherein were many monuments of great antiquity. Amongst the rest, the Records of the Abbey of St. Edmondsbury, and many MSS. which he had brought out of Italy. He had bought Mr. William Perkins his study of books; and to the publishing of some of his works after his death he was very instrumental, as I have seen in the several letters between him and Dr. Ward concerning them; in one of which, dedicated to the the king, and

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and made my success complete. The inscription then is *truly* and *really* this:

Gulielmi Bideli
quondem Kilmorens
is Episcopi
Depositum.

As a few years will remove all, I wish you to keep this as the fruit of accurate inquiry, and the more especially as I could not obtain any aid in making the matter more easy. I have seen some notices of the inscription, but they are all incorrect. The grave is in a retired part of the churchyard, and a sycamore tree [which tradition says was planted by the bishop himself], of at least twelve feet in circumference, the growth of ages, is flourishing near it, and flinging its time-honored arms over the spot."

presented to his majesty by Dr. Ward, is a desire that the king would be pleased to set some divines apart for controversies.

But the greatest loss (next that of himself) was that of his own writings upon the Scriptures; which a man of understanding would have preferred to and chosen before all the commentaries of the Fathers, or most of their sons that followed them. The Greeks having no Hebrew, and the Latins neither Hebrew nor Greek, have made sad expositions of Scripture, following a false vulgar out of a false seventy-two; which this learned and great divine did easily discover, being fully acquainted with the originals, as any in our age, did never use a spectacle to look through into the true and genuine sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures; but went still to the fountains of Israel, the living spring of Truth, to draw water for the sanctuary, to refresh the city of God, *non ex cœno, sed ex fonte Israel*, as Padre Paulo said and wrote of him. *Ignorantiam Hœbraismorum horrendas errores in ecclesiam invexisse*, saith Beza and Mercerus.

There is a learned sermon of his extant upon Rev. xviii. 4. "*And I heard another voice from heaven saying, Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.*" This sermon was preached in Christ Church, Dublin, anno 1634, before the Lord Deputy,

Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Parliament. The occasion of his giving a copy of it was at the request of a great papist, to have shown it to some learned men of his own religion, because it demonstrates and maintains unanswerably, that the present monarchy, which the Church of Rome claims to exercise over the Christian world, is the mystical Babylon, out of which God's people are called.

But they never meddled with it, to say anything against it to this day. Dr. Bernard meeting with some imperfect copy (whereof there were many in Essex and elsewhere) published it in the year 1659, with the concurrent judgment of the most learned Primate of Armagh in that point. It's a great pity it was not rightly printed, having in it such wisdom of truth, which all the popish adversaries are not able to gainsay or resist.

He had got such knowledge of the methods and stratagems of the Church of Rome, by being so long in Italy with the English ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, and conversing so intimately with Padre Paulo, that great divine and politician, that no man living could give an exacter account of their destructive and damnable ways towards mankind; which he and this poor kingdom of Ireland hath now found true by sad experience.

He was wont to say to those that knew nothing of

their religion but the mass (of which most of them understood not a word), "That the mass was no more the worship of God than the barking of dogs;" and of their innumerable and fantastical ceremonies, which they so much gloried in, "That they were not worth one cup of cold water given to a disciple in the name of a disciple, which shall not lose its reward (much less one drop of blood to be shed for them);" therefore he is now drinking of the water of life freely. That saying of Augustin was much in his mouth, when he heard of any violent proceedings for or against ceremonies: *Hæc sunt folia, fructus quæro;* and therefore is now eating of the fruit of the tree of life, that is in the midst of the Paradise of God. As the land of Zebulon and Napthali, that were most oppressed by Jubin and the Midianites were most rude and ignorant when Christ came, insomuch that it was no small imputation to Christ to have been of Galilee, "whence arose no prophet," the calamity of Ashur never thoroughly outworn until Christ came to bring spiritual light; so of all the parts of the Christian territories, Ireland being most ignorant, it was the greatest imputation to this His dearest servant, that in imitation of his Lord and Master, he sought by the Scriptures translated into Irish, to open their eyes and awake them, to come to this light, and to walk in it, and that speedily, lest the darkness came wherein no man can

walk. As Christ, the true light, did choose to teach and to do His mighty works in Galilee of the Gentiles, and to deliver them, as they were of old from Jabin and the Midianites; so the cicuration and reformation of the wild Irish, and their deliverance from the tyranny of popery, was the chief desire and design of this His faithful servant, all the days of his life amongst them.

That which Tacitus relates of Thucias, *dictus lumen Romani imperii orbis, et ipsa virtus,* when Nero (the Pope's predecessor) sent to murder him, that he was found discoursing with Demetrius, a philosopher, *de naturæ animæ, et dissociatione spiritus inquirebat,* may well be applied to this holy father and blessed bishop: That he was *lumen christiani orbis, et ipsa religio,* in all his trials and temptations that befell him, former actings and present sufferings; for when the very Irish rebels, the worst of men, had such veneration at last as to solemnize his obsequies, which they never did to any other person of God's religion; as if they had *ipso facto* acknowledged, that he was learneder than all their fathers, holier than all their popish saints, chaster than all their monks and nuns, more beneficial to them than all their idolized patrons, more to be desired by them than all their confessors, and to be loved and lamented than all their teachers and leaders.

If I durst vent my thoughts concerning this man of

God, without offence of God and good men, I would for conclusion say this of him, that if God had spoken to Satan concerning him, as once He did concerning Job, He would or might have used the same expression: "*Hast thou considered (or, hast thou set thine heart upon) this My servant, that there is none like him in all the earth, a perfect and upright man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil?*"

This faithful and affectionate account (though infinitely beneath his merit) I hope may be taken in good part from one, that (under God) oweth more to his sacred memory than to all the world besides, yea, himself also, as St. Paul speaks to Philemon, whom therefore I have mentioned with honor and thankfulness.

You may perhaps desire also to know what became of his children after his death, and that little flock and small remnant that had escaped the fury of the adversary. As to their bodies, though they had nothing left besides their lives, which God always preserved as sacred and unviolable (as He did Job's) at his departure, as before: Indeed, they were marvellously sanctuarized in the midst of their enemies; for they continued at Mr. Sheridin's house until the 15th day of June following, waiting for the Lord's deliverance. The service of God was kept up in that family by Mr. Bedell, who preached on *Psalm* xxx, and by Alexander Clogy, the minister of Cavan, who

preached on *Psalm* cii, all that wearisome time. We hoped still, that if there were any English or Scots in the world we might have been relieved by that time; but nothing was done for us; the enraging of cruel jealousies between the king and Parliament of England, *tristia condere bella*, breaking out into open wars (in all parts) *mœstos habitura triumphos*.

The way of God's enlarging of us was this: The Scots that had stood upon their own defence in two small castles (as I told you before) being wearied with vain expectation of relief from England or Scotland (that began to ruin themselves apace, as we in Ireland, by the common enemy of both, were ruined already), their small store of ammunition being drained, were at length begirt by all the forces the enemy could draw together from the provinces of Ulster and Connaught; so that all their forage was cut off, and possibility of making any sallies into the enemy's camp, as they had done prosperously in the former siege. They were sore straightened with famine and sickness for want of room and outward accommodation (for nine score died in one castle in a few weeks, including Sir James Craig and his lady, who left no issue behind them), at last were necessitated to submit to such terms as they could obtain from an absurd and merciless enemy, whom they could resist no longer, unless upon a desperate sally to hazard all that remnant that had escaped for eight months to

that day. So the faithless enemy, that never gave quarter to any before that had made any resistance unto them, but had used all manner of cruelty towards them, gave quarter to the Scots and English (for fear more than love), to march out of their castles and huts with some arms, and all their moveable goods that they could conveniently carry away with them, by horse or cart towards Dublin, that was fifty miles distant, and nothing left by the way, but destruction and desolation; Cavan, Virginia, Kells, Navan, Dunshocklin, Slany, Tarah, Swords, all ruinous heaps, and no inhabitant left in that rich tract of land, which was a woful spectacle.

In this transaction, my Lord of Kilmore's children, with the minister of Cavan, Mr. Arthur Cullum, with Mr. Castledyne (which were prisoners with my Lord of Kilmore in Loughoughter Castle) and others, were particularly included and named. So, on the 15th day of June, 1642, in the eighth month after the Rebellion, we marched away above 1200 men, women, and children, after they had eaten the cows' hides which had covered their cabins and huts, from Christmas till June: A sad company of poor people we were, as ever were seen together; some loaden with children, some great with child, some with two children on their backs, many with two little ones in their arms, yet all rejoicing in the Lord for our enlargement at last.

About 2000 rebels accompanied us for our life-guard, according to the articles of our agreement, which were written by Archdeacon Pryce (before mentioned), but now Archbishop of Cashel. The Scots had about 300 horse, some of them well appointed, for our guard also, under the conduct of Sir Francis Hamilton and Sir Arthur Forbes. Major Bayley had his foot-company of Scots, that lay at Cavan, and had made their escape in the night to those two castles, with all their arms of the train-band with them.

The country had orders to bring us provision for money, as was articled, which they did in great plenty. Though there were many plots to cut us off by the way (as against the 10,000 Greeks in Zenophon, that retreated into their own country through many barbarous nations, after the overthrow of Cyrus), yet the Lord of Hosts was with us, and his glory did shine over us, as in a cloud by day and a fire by night, for our defence, and restrained their malice, and brought forth this little flock, as his great flock under the conduct of the Great Shepherd out of Egypt of old, through scorpions and fiery-flying serpents with his mighty hand and outstretched arm: To Him be glory for ever!

The first day, being Wednesday June the 15th, we marched to Cavan, seven miles; the 16th we encamped at Lara; the 17th at Corinary; the 18th to a mountain beyond Pierce four miles; the 19th we pitched at

Mr. Dilwin's house, three miles; on the 20th day we lay in the same place; the 21st day we march six miles; on the 22nd day of June, Sir Henry Titchbourne, the governor of Drogheda, with Captain Gibson met us with a party of horse and foot within ten miles of his garrison of Drogheda, and conducted us safely thither by the good hand of our God upon us.

The rebels that conducted us took solemn leave of us, being sore afraid at the sight of our English forces; they hasted away, having kept us seven nights in the open fields, without anything under or over us, but what each of us carried about us; yet they offered us no violence, save in the night, when our men were weary with continual watchings, they would steal away a good horse and run off, but were very civil to us all the way, and many of them wept at our parting from them that had lived so long and peaceably amongst them, as if we had been one people with them.

From Drogheda some took shipping and went for England, as my Lord of Kilmore's sons, and others that had friends there. His eldest son, Mr. Bedell, was made minister of Rattlesden, in Suffolk; his youngest son, Mr. Ambrose Bedell, returned speedily into Ireland, and was a captain in Col. Hill's regiment, who was his wife's uncle, for whom my lord, his father, purchased a good estate of one Mr. Baxter, a minister, where he now lives a justice of peace.

Most of our poor pillaged company came towards Dublin, a poor exhausted city of refuge, which was neither able to lodge us, nor to relieve us with things necessary, thousands dying every week, being pierced through for want of the fruits of the earth, as is at large set forth in the book of Dr. Jones, Dean of Kilmore, who wrote the history of the horrid Rebellion; and also by Sir John Temple, a worthy and honorable privy councillor, before and after that calamity.

THE END.

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